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THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW.

MANAGING EDITORS:

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A. S. WEBER, D.D.

YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE

FOURTH SERIES. VOLUME XV.

PUBLISHED BY
THE REFORMED CHURCH PUBLICATION BOARD,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA

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THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

No. 1.—JANUARY—1911.

I.

EUGENICS.

R. C. SCHIEDT.

The deepest instinct of every organism is self-preservation. We find, therefore, already in the very simplest forms of plant and animal life both in their structural composition and in their modes of reproduction specific provisions which have grown out of this profound instinct. Most unicellular organisms only thrive in a liquid environment; if that dries up they lose their usual shape, as well as their power of locomotion and form spores, minute spherical masses surrounded by an impenetrable membrane. In this form they can survive the unfavorable conditions of their environment for a very long time without injury, returning to the original status of their being at the first favorable opportunity. Moreover, ordinarily they reproduce themselves by simple fission, but after spore-formation the individual breaks up into many daughter individuals by multiple fission. Fission or division is, however, not the only mode of reproduction, for, if carried on through too many generations of offspring, the nuclear protoplasm would be exhausted and the species would die out. Nature has, therefore, provided a counter process, viz., conjugation or copulation. Two individuals of different parentage either temporarily unite and exchange their nuclear protoplasm, thereby rejuvenating their lives, or they completely

fuse and now constitute a new parent. Similar precautions exist among the more complex organisms. The fresh-water sponge, at some time or other forced from its original marine environment dies down to the ground at the approach of winter exactly like a plant but it leaves behind a large number of well protected internal buds or gemmules which hibernate at the bottom of brook or pond, only to sprout out again with the returning spring and to grow into many new sponges. Many animals and plants of sessile habits are continually exposed to the danger of extinction on account of their inability to run away from their enemies; nature has therefore given them a hermaphroditic character; they carry both male and female germs and with them the possibility of self-fertilization. Others, such as the oyster, vary in their sexuality with the conditions of the environment. The oysters on the eastern coasts, favored by the warm currents of the gulf stream are unisexual, while those on the western coasts, where the polar currents prevail, are hermaphrodites. Again, animals which scatter their germs broadcast produce an unusually large number of such germs, because most of them are destroyed, while those whose germs are more protected produce only a comparatively small number of eggs. Besides there are a thousand other devices by means of which the species endeavors to assure its continuation, significant among which are the cooperative measures of symbiosis, messmatism and commensalism. Such cooperative devices for self-preservation found already among the very lowest unicellular organisms as, *e. g.*, among the lichens, clearly proves the instinct of self-preservation to be not merely individual but social or racial. It does not only suggest the constancy and continuity of a species but also explains its variations, which are frequently the results of newly acquired adjustments, and in most cases variation means progress towards a more complex and a richer life. These phenomena are strikingly illustrated by the history of the human race. From times immemorial man has dreamed of the eternal preservation of the race and has devised his

theories of salvation. From the happy hunting grounds of the savage Indian to the new heaven and the new earth of the Christian, the hopes and aspirations of the race have ever been directed towards a larger and more perfect life, and the efforts to reach it have produced the highly complex protective measures of our modern civilization. To preserve life at any cost and to constantly improve the methods of redeeming even the utterly worthless existences is the most potent formative aim of our age. The pure animal instinct of self-preservation has been gradually enlarged and transformed into intelligent and sublime valuation of human life, on the lowest scale confined to the affectionate care of the members of the family, later passing into tribal predilections and national chauvinism and finally reaching its climax in the Christian pronunciamento of the universal brotherhood of man.

But as selfish individualism gradually changed into race love, as animal hunger developed into spiritual aspirations the factors involved in this evolution also underwent a change of valuation. The purely physical factors of life received only minor considerations, bodily life as such was in certain quarters even looked upon as a positive evil not worthy of preservation—a betrayal of self for the sake of self was but a grotesque outgrowth from the exalted instinct of self-preservation, a morbid exaggeration of the factors that make for animal death. Happily, however, the nineteenth century has witnessed the complete overthrow of such dualistic heresies and at the same time heralded such new and wonderful revelations about the animal body that the protective measures have increased a thousand fold and the instinct of self-preservation has become a purposeful scientific method by means of which all destructive dangers threatening the race can be almost completely controlled. This new scientific method has aroused a host of latent energies in the race and stimulated fruitful inquiry into the minute character and possibility of human life. We no longer emphasize the total depravity of the individual and the impotence of human effort, but rather the

total ability and capacity of human powers and their inherent divinity. We scorn the idea that we have wandered away from God and insist that just the opposite is true, viz., that the deepest instinct in the struggle for preservation has been the groping for God and the effort to find him, and that the whole history of human development centers in the search for God. The latest phase in this modern movement, therefore, deals with the elimination of a past pessimism, inquires into the causes of its transmission and seeks to establish laws for future improvement. In its broadest sense it is known under the name of the biological method, more specifically applied to human improvement it has been termed *Eugenics.* Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, coined the word and used it for the first time in his *Inquiry into Human Faculty and its Development,* published in London in 1883. According to him *Eugenics is the science which deals with the improvement of the human race by better breeding.* It concerns itself with all the influences that can improve the inborn qualities of man—physical, intellectual and moral.

Eugenics, as a science, is one of the many results that grew out of the discussion and application of the Darwinian principle of natural selection, according to which new species arise by gradual and slow variations and which applied to man must result in his intellectual and physical improvement. Darwin himself entertained such views in his discourses on modern social conditions and the future of the human race. He showed on the one hand how sociability and altruism had arisen in primitive tribes and how such tribes who had among them the larger number of valorous and wise men had better chances for survival and on the other had, how the protection of the weak would lead to a decay of humanity unless the opportunity for marriage among the defectives would be lessened. He even went so far as to demand that a law should be passed to regulate such conditions. He meditated on the effects of ill-applied wealth leading to excess and degeneracy and so defeating its own bad effects; how civilization improving the food

of man becomes useful to man, and so weighing the advantages and disadvantages of civilization concludes that we are slowly progressing. Sir Francis Galton inquired more definitely into human faculties and their improvement. He was so thoroughly convinced of the inheritability of acquired qualities that he ventured to prove that the exercise of body and mind, the suppression of evil inclinations, the prevention of marriages among the insane, the struggle against overpopulation through late marriages, etc., practised for several generations would surely bring about physical as well as intellectual progress of humanity. Modern sociologists agreed that natural selection of this kind was the only stimulus for progress and that it must be supported in order to bring about an improved humanity. Sympathy with the weak and the hygiene which prolongs the life of the sick weaken society and must be abolished. The responsibility for coming generations must be strengthened and habitual criminals should be castrated, as already Schopenhauer advocated. Such is the program of scientific eugenics and the question naturally arises: is it truly just and humane and can it be carried out?

So far the reader has no doubt seen that both Darwin's and Galton's conclusions and suggestions were at first largely derived from theoretical considerations. But a science is not a body of theories; its primary function is to collect and classify facts and its ultimate business is to establish laws by means of which events and results as the outcome of definite phenomena can be foretold with absolute accuracy. Do we have such a science of eugenics, which can be applied with beneficent results to the improvement of humanity: I think the question can be answered in the affirmative. The central principle which underlies this particular science is that of heredity and the facts to be ascertained cluster around this one principle and its various aspects. We ask, what kind of qualities are transmitted from parent to offspring, how and by what apparatus, and what are the proofs of the claims? Ideas of heredity are as old as humanity. The dogma of original sin,

the Daemonion of the Greeks, the predestination doctrine of St. Augustine, the caste system and inherited privileges are all theories of inheritance. They are of as little value in our consideration as the pseudo-scientific and philosophical theories of Meckel, Lucas, Morel and Buckle. Darwin in his *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* made the first scientific attempt to gather facts and to tabulate and codify them and a host of biologists followed in his footsteps, notably Sir Francis Galton, who collected an immense amount of statistical material on inheritance, maintaining the inheritance of the size of the body, the color of the skin, and of the eyes, of muscular strength, intelligence, will power, morality and especially genius, and finally formulating a law, known since as *Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance,* according to which "the two parents contribute between them on the average one half of the total heritage of the offspring; the four grandparents one quarter, the eight great-grandparents one eighth" and so on. This was the first definite advance in the whole discussion of the subject. On the basis of data obtained from the stature of man and the coat-color of Basset hounds, he had proved that inheritance is not merely dual, but through the parents it is multiple, and the average contributions made by grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., are definite and diminish in precise ratio according to the remoteness of the ancestors. At first very little stress was laid on the distinction between the transmission of native qualities and of such as had been acquired, because this difference was of little importance in Darwin's origin of species. However, this very distinction became in the course of time the storm center of discussion.

Professor August Weismann, of the University of Freiburg, became the master mind in the discussion. He established beyond the shadow of a doubt the fact that protoplasm was the real carrier of life and thereby gave the impetus to the closer study of the *apparatus of inheritance.* The complex structure of the germ nucleus was discovered and Weismann advanced

the view that every organism is composed of certain properties and all these properties or qualities are contained in the nucleus of the germ cell side by side in what he called the germ plasm. When the nucleus divides in the process of segmentation these qualities are distributed to the right and the left, upward and downward, forward and rearward, each producing its own peculiar organization, viz., the head qualities form the head, those of the foot this particular organ, etc. He distinguished then between the germ plasm and the soma plasm, the latter composing the nuclear substance of the main body cells and later advanced the theory, apparently based on experiments, that only those qualities are transmitted which are present in the germ plasm, *i. e.,* inborn, while habits and structures newly acquired by the body cells are never transmitted. Darwin's theory of natural selection was therefore limited to sexual selection, or the struggle for existence within and between the germ cells. But, however widespread Weismann's theory of the omnipotence of sexual selection became, it has to-day lost its quondam brilliancy, largely because Weismann now admits the transmission of certain acquired characters, such *e. g.,* as immunity.

The most valuable contribution Weismann has made to the study of heredity is his ingenious interpretation of the physical basis of inheritance, the germ plasm, which he showed to consist of a definite number of minute bodies, the chromosomes, each one of which in turn consisted—by interpretation—of ids composed of numerous constituents or determinants, representing definite individual qualities. But the actual proof for the existence of such unit qualities or characters was furnished by another man with whom the whole subject of heredity became a matter of actual demonstration leading to the solid establishment of eugenics as a science. As early as 1866 Gregor Johann Mendel, abbot and professor at the Realschule at Brünn had published in the "proceedings" of the local Natural History Society a paper on experiments with the edible pea, which presented a very important conclusion in

regard to the inbreeding of hybrids, a conclusion which is generally referred to as "*Mendel's law,*" one of the greatest biological discoveries ever made. This paper, however, remained practically unnoticed, until similar discoveries were made independently in 1900 by the botanists De Vries, Correns and Tschermack. The two names most eminent in modern times in the domain of experimental inheritance are Mendel and De Vries, the former the great forerunner of Galton, the latter the master interpreter and investigator of the origin of species by sudden variation and the author of the theory of mutation. Mendel was led to his discoveries by experimenting to find the law of inheritance in hybrid varieties. He selected as already stated the edible pea for his experiments. For fully eight years he watched the growth and reproduction of twenty-two varieties, each one separated from the other, until he had ascertained that each possessed definite constant characters and could easily be fertilized by artificial means. After having carefully established such constant characters as the form of the seeds, the color of the reserve material, the shape and color of the pods, the length of the stems and the position of the flowers he crossfertilized them, investigating one character at a time. He found that each pair showed only one of the contrasted characters to the total or almost total exclusion of the other. These prevailing characters he called *dominant* the suppressed ones *recessive.* In transferring the pollen of a short stemmed variety upon a long stemmed one and vice versa he found that all the offspring had tall stems. "Tallness" is then the dominant character, dwarfness the recessive. The next generation on self-fertilization showed the two original forms in the proportion of three dominants to one recessive. The offspring of the recessive dwarfs were pure recessives for any number of generations—they bred true—while the offspring of the dominants were one third pure and two thirds crossbred dominants, the latter producing on self-fertilization a mixture of dominants and recessives in proportion of 3:1. Expressed in words, Mendel's law would read

as follows: "Wherever there occurs a pair of different strong characters of which one is dominant over the other, three possibilities exist: there are recessives which always breed true to the recessive character; there are dominants which breed true to the dominant character and are therefore pure; and thirdly there are dominants which may be called impure and which on self-fertilization (or inbreeding where the sexes are separate) give both dominant and recessive forms in the fixed proportion of three of the former to one of the latter." (R. L. Punnett, 1905.) This law was verified by Correns on peas, maize and gardenstock, by Tschermack on peas, by De Vries on maize, by Bateson on a large variety of organisms, by Darbishire on mice, by Hurst on rabbits by Toyome on silk moths and by Davenport on poultry and of late on man. A gray house mouse was crossed with a white mouse; the offspring were all gray. Grayness is dominant, albinism recessive. The gray hybrids were inbred, the offspring was gray and white in proportion of 3 : 1. If these white ones are inbred they produce only whites for all subsequent generations. But the grays inbred produce two kinds of offspring: one third produce only grays, which continue to do so, while the other two thirds produce both grays and whites.

The discovery that variation is not merely a fortuitous difference between parent and child as held hitherto, but a form of heredity proceeding according to definite laws marks a turning point in our conception of the subject. Professor Hugo de Vries, of the University of Amsterdam, went still farther and actually proved that by this process new varieties and species arose not gradually, but suddenly by what he called *mutation,* a phenomenon only faintly suggested by Darwin. Some twenty-five years ago he looked about around Amsterdam to find a plant which would show indications of having a changeable mood. After experimenting with and testing a hundred species in vain he finally discovered on a deserted potato-field at Hilversum his long looked for mutable plant, an evening primrose, the *Œnothera Lamarckiana.* Its

chief characteristic was its changefulness, some were annual, others biennial and a few triennial; almost all its organs were varying, showing extraordinary freaks such as fasciation and pitcher forming; most important of all some looked like new species in the making. Only one year after his discovery of the potato-field he obtained two well defined new forms, which on self-fertilization bred true. Their likes were found nowhere else and must have arisen by a sudden mutation from the seed of an individual parent. Upon further experimentation he obtained seven more constant species and verified the statements of Mendel's law. But while according to Mendel's theory the characters were segregated in the germ cells De Vries held that the characters are sharply separated from each other, representing elementary units. Both views remind us of Weismann's theory of the determinants composing the germ plasm and of Galton's suggestion of the "presence of elements in the germ cells of one generation, which are of two kinds, viz., active or dominant elements and groups of elements which determine the heritable characters of the progeny or second generation, and latent or recessive elements which pass through the bodies of one or more generations without appearing to affect them." For all practical purposes these results present a consensus omnium, which establishes once for all the existence of independent unit characters in every germ cell that may be inherited independently and not *en masse.* Dr. Charles B. Davenport, director of the Carnegie Institute at Cold Spring Harbor and undoubtedly the highest authority on Eugenics in this country sums up our present state of knowledge on this subject as follows: "Three fundamental principles are to be kept clearly in mind. The principle of independent unit characters, the principle of the determiner in the germ plasm and the principle of segregation of determiners. The principle of independent unit characters states that the qualities or characteristics of organisms are, or may be analyzed into distinct units that are inherited independently. It follows that the characters of a parent or a par-

ticular relative are not inherited as a whole, but each individual is a mosaic of characters that appear in a variety of relatives. The principle of the determiner in the germ plasm states that each unit character is represented in the germ by a molecule or associated groups of molecules called a determiner. These determiners are transmitted in the germ plasm and are the only things that are truly inherited. The principle of segregation of determiners in the germ plasm states that characteristics do not blend. That if one parent has a characteristic while the other lacks it, then the offspring get a determiner from one side only instead of from both sides and when the germ cells are formed in such offspring half of them have the determiner and half of them lack it. There is thus a segregation of presence and of absence of the determiners in the germ cells of the mixed offspring." The characteristic in the offspring that is due to a single (instead of the normal double) determiner is called a simplex characteristic. Such a characteristic is frequently distinguished from one that is due to the double determiner by its imperfect development. Thus the offspring of a pure black eyed and a blue eyed parent will have brown eyes. It can easily be deduced from these fundamental statements that it is now possible to predict the results of marriages, provided the pedigrees on each side are known, *i. e.,* the unit characteristics both parents either possess or lack and how they differ; also whether these characteristics are due to the absence or presence of a determiner. If to the sum total Galton's law of ancestral inheritance is applied the future of any mating can be foretold with startling precision.

We owe therefore a debt of gratitude to Sir Francis Galton for enlisting man's conscious coöperation in controlling nature's most potent force and thereby making the eugenic principle play its beneficent rôle in human affairs. He read his initial paper on this subject before the English Sociological Society in 1904 and followed it up by addressing to every member a form containing a series of questions concerning his relatives to be answered by each one in detail. The results being care-

fully tabulated and analyzed, conclusively proved that there existed in England a large number of families whose members were of priceless value to the country as such and to the human race in general. By leaps and bounds the American Committee on Eugenics under the leadership of president David Starr Jordan and the coöperation of such men as Dr. Davenport, Dr. Castle and Luther Burbank have far outstripped the English leaders. Luther Burbank's application of the eugenic principles to plant breeding is one of the marvels of the present age and the still profounder investigation of human defectives by Dr. Davenport and his corps of able assistants at Cold Spring Harbor, L. I., must be hailed as one of the most beneficent and far reaching efforts at human redemption the world has yet known.

As a matter of course the finest and most accurate results have been obtained in the domain of plant and animal breeding. Those experiments have had the double beneficent result of increasing on the one hand our knowledge of determiners and enlarging on the other hand the variety of useful plants and animals. So far the determiners which have been established in man as absolutely certain factors of inheritance are but few. On the normal physical side the color of eyes and hair, on the mental musical and mathematical gifts furnish the best illustrations. By experiment with animals and observation of men it has been found that the absence of iris pigment is a proof of the absence of the pigment determiner from the germ plasm. If both parents have blue eyes all the children will have blue eyes. If one parent has simplex brown eyes and the other blue eyes, one half of the children will have blue eyes; if both parents have brown eyes simplex, one in four of the children will have blue eyes. The same is true of flaxen or dark haired conditions. If both parents have musical or mathematical talent all the children will be likewise gifted. The application of the method of eugenics to cases of abnormalities and diseases has resulted in still more important discoveries. Dr. Davenport reports that brachy-

dactyly (lack of one digit in each finger) even in only one parent will be transmitted to 50 or even 100 per cent. of the children, the same is true of presenile cataract, of keratosis or congenital thickening of the skin, of early baldheadedness, probably also of diabetes and stationary night blindness. When the abnormality is due to the absence of a characteristic or quality the results are the same. Even the normal offspring of an albino and a pigmented parent may transmit the albinic condition. Such is also the case with the degenerative disease of the retina, with deafmutism, with imbecility, maniac-depressive insanity, partial hermaphroditism, St. Vitus dance and a host of defects, among them chronic inflammation of the mucous membrane, from which develop weakness of the ear, the nose, the throat and the lungs, or skin diseases, notably boils and eczema; or tubercles and abscesses, or Bright's disease and dropsy, syphilis, uremic poisoning and rheumatism, or heart disease, paralysis, neurasthenia, nervousness, headaches and stomach trouble and migraine. In all such cases intermarriages between two defectives are unfit, and between a normal and a defective may be unfit. If the defects themselves are not transmitted the susceptibility towards defect generally is, although it may not show itself for two or three generations. Intermarriage between first cousins of a stock with a defective strain is in the nature of the case criminally unfit, while such a union of normal stock may be highly beneficial.

But the reader may ask, are there not defective strains in every human family, which would naturally condemn every marriage as unfit. Will not love laugh at eugenics and go on its errand of mating in spite of the most solemn warnings? Will people tolerate any interference with their matrimonial intentions? Sir Francis Galton has answered these objections in a recently published paper, which, summarized, states that the work of eugenics is one of gradual education. History proves that in a course of centuries many restrictions have been introduced and become customs. The Roman Catholic may

not even marry a third cousin, in a great many sects endogamy, which forbids marriage outside the particular communion, has become a custom, and man, not monogamous by nature, has submitted to the monogamous restriction. If public opinion can inaugurate such restrictions why can it not control the marriage of the epileptic, the "borderland" insane, the consumptive and the criminal? When eugenics is once incorporated into the national conscience and has become an integral part of the great Christian scheme of redemption we may hope that celibacy may become a universal ordinance, however not celibacy among the fit, but among the palpably unfit, whose marital state would retard God's plan of human salvation. The great and the good and the strong will be on the increase and our 300,000 insane and feeble-minded, our 160,000 blind or deaf, our 80,000 prisoners and the thousands of criminals not in prison and our 100,000 paupers in almshouses will be burdens of the past. But, whatever legislation of one kind or other may do in this great movement the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ with its essential stress on the love of one's neighbor must ever be the most powerful means for the improvement of the human race not by or through but towards better breeding. The first requisite in the practice of such love is the intelligent appreciation of the great dangers of close, indiscriminate inbreeding, which is to-day the curse of certain Christian sects who have grown insane on the subject of their own exclusive right to salvation and the wholesale condemnation of all outsiders. Dwarfs, insane, deaf mutes and crippled of all sorts abound among them. Physical and mental normality are, however, the first steps towards holiness, and it is only from such stock that we can expect to come the salvation of the human race.

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II.

THE DIALECTICAL METHOD OF SOCRATES.

PHILIP VOLLMER.

As applied to the Socratic method, all later definitions of the term "dialectical" must give way to the etymological sense that is given in Plato's "Republic,"[1] who defines it as "the art of developing knowledge conversationally by question and answer." Xenophon[2] says to the same effect that Socrates considered the dialectical process as consisting in coming together and taking common counsel to distinguish and distribute things in genera or families, so as to learn what each separate thing really was. Socrates was so infatuated with this way of discussion, and felt so incapable of living without that colloquial interchange of ideas, that some think that he made no defense at his trial and was willing to die because impending old age made conversation difficult or impossible.[3] It must also be kept in mind that the Socratic method was not consciously adopted by the author, after careful investigation of its validity. He rather alighted upon it by instinct. A man's aim determines very largely his method, that is, the way to reach that end. So the Socratic method resulted from the notions the great Athenian had formed respecting the object of philosophy, and while in pursuit of this object, his peculiar method "grew on him." Schwegler[4] is right in saying: "Of the Socratic method we must understand that, in contrast to what is now called method, it rose not in the consciousness of Socrates formally as method, and in abstraction from

[1] Plato, *Republic*, VII, 534.

[2] *Memor*, V, p. 56.

[3] Plato, Crito, 74: "Thou even didst say that thou wouldst prefer death to exile." Also Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, 54.

[4] *History of Philosophy*, p. 49.

every concrete case, but that it had spontaneously grown up with the very mode and manner of his philosophizing which aimed not at the communication of a system, but at the schooling of the individual himself into philosophical thought and life."

The Aim of Socrates.

Method and aim can never be entirely separated. Certainly not with Socrates, where the man is the method, nor in the Socratic age, where the false aim of his predecessors and contemporaries was due, to a great extent, to a defective method. His chief aim was to establish an epistemology, a valid theory of knowledge and its limits. Before him the answer as to the causes of natural phenomena were attempted without any preliminary inquiry into the human faculty of cognition. All reliance was placed on external perception. In this endeavor he encountered four questions, the first and most important of which was, *Can we know at all?* The Sophist's answer was a decided negative. They denied the credibility of the senses, the reliability of reason, the objective reality of truth, and consequently the possibility of an adequate human knowledge and certainty. Thus they undermined the very foundations of science, and made skepticism triumphant. In the words of Zeller,[5] "The characteristic of the Sophists consisted in their allowing only a relative value to all scientific and moral principles." They called everything into question, and attacked or defended with equal readiness every opinion. Faith in the aim of human ideas or in the validity of moral laws had wholly disappeared. Natural philosophy on which the attention of thinkers had been engrossed for upwards of a century and a half had now become distasteful and, in fine, scientific inquiry had been supplanted by a merely superficial culture of thought and language and by the acquisition of such accomplishments only as were likely to serve the purposes of social life. Against this subjectivity of the Sophists, Socrates believed it to be his

[5] *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, p. 195.

mission to affirm the objective reality of truth.[6] He justly conceived the true end of philosophy to be, not to make an ostentatious display of superior learning and ability in subtle disputes and ingenious conjectures but "to free mankind from the dominion of pernicious prejudices, to inspire them with a love of real truth and thus conduct them into the path of genuine wisdom and positive objective knowledge." When, therefore, Protagoras[7] said: "man is the measure of all things and men differ, consequently no objective but only subjective truth is possible," Socrates answered, "True, man is the measure of all things, but descend deeper into his personality by the right method, not by a defective method, applicable to the physical world, and you will find that underneath all the transitory there is a ground of steady truth. Men differ as to what is fleeting, they agree as to what is abiding and eternal. There is a difference in the region of opinion, but substantial agreement in the region of objective truth. But in order to see this agreement we must always endeavor to penetrate into that region."

The second question in the Socratic epistemology was, *To what extent can man know?* The proper study of mankind is man, not nature, was his answer. All his predecessors philosophized more or less on nature in one form or the other. They blended together cosmogony, astronomy, geometry, physics and a kind of metaphysics. Socrates himself had studied with the natural philosopher Archelaus, as we know from the comedy of the "Clouds,"[8] where he is represented "air-treading and speculating about the sun, and his disciples seeking things hidden under ground." But later in his life he

[6] Apologia 23 does not contradict this statement, for there Socrates only asserts that human knowledge is limited in comparison with the Divine. ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδενός. Comp. also Plato, *Rep.*, X., 19.

[7] *Theæt.*, 152, states this maxim thus: χρημάτων πάντων μετρος ἀνθρωπον εἶναι τῶν μεν ὄντων ὡς ἐστιν, τῶν δὲ μὴ ὄντων ὡς σύκ ἐστιν. Comp. also Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, X, 1.

[8] *Nubes*, V, 112–115.

abandoned the study of physics altogether as leading to no certain knowledge. St. Augustine[9] in his admirable sketch of Greek philosophy remarks: "Socrates is said to have been the first who directed the entire effort of philosophy to the correction and regulation of manners, all who went before him having expended their greatest efforts in the investigation of physical, that is, natural phenomena. For he saw that the causes of things were sought for by them, which causes he believed to be ultimately reducible to nothing else than the will of the one true and supreme God. And on this account he thought they could only be comprehended by a purified mind; and therefore that all diligence ought to be given to the purification of the life by good morals in order that the mind, delivered from the depressing weight of lusts, might raise itself upward by its native vigor to eternal things, and might, with purified understanding, contemplate that nature which is incorporeal and unchangeable light, where live the causes of all created natures."—The confusion that ruled among the different schools led him to the conviction that the gods intended these things to remain secrets and allowed the physical studies only in so far as they are necessary for practical purposes. "Do these inquirers," he asked, "think that they already know human affairs well enough that they thus begin to meddle with divine?"[10] "I have not leisure for such things," he is made to say by Plato,[11] "and I will tell you the reason; I am not yet able, according to the Delphic inscription, to know myself; and it appears to me very ridiculous, while ignorant of myself, to inquire into what I am not concerned in." That Socrates used at times to discuss physical subjects appears, as Kuehner[12] shows from Xenophon himself, as well as from Plato's *Apology;* but he pursued a different method from that of other philosophers in such discussions.

[9] *De Civitate Dei*, VIII, 3.

[10] *Mem.*, I, 1, 11: ἐθαύμαξε δὲ εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατ· ν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὑρεῖν.

[11] Plato, *Phædr.*, 8.

[12] *Xenophontis de Socrate Commentarii*, p. 246.

The third question in the Socratic epistemology was, *What, then, can man know,* if not the external world? *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν* —know thyself—he grew never weary to answer. Listen to that admirable dialogue in the *Memorabilia*:[13] Socrates said, "Tell me, Euthydemus, have you ever gone to Delphia?" "Yes, twice," replied he. "And did you observe what is written somewhere on the temple wall,[14] '*Know Thyself*'?" "I did." "And did you take no thought of that inscription, or did you attend to it and try to examine yourself to ascertain what sort of character you are?" "I did not, indeed, try, for I thought that I knew very well already, since I should hardly know anything else if I did not know myself." "But whether does he seem to you to know himself who knows his own name merely, or he who having ascertained with regard to himself how he is adapted for the service of mankind, knows his own abilities?" "It appears to me, I must confess, that he who does not know his own abilities does not know himself." "But is it not evident," said Socrates, "that men enjoy a great number of blessings in consequence of knowing themselves, and incur a great number of evils, through being deceived in themselves?" "Be assured," replied Euthydemus, "that I feel convinced, we must consider self-knowledge of the highest value, but as to the way in which we must begin to seek self-knowledge, I look to you for information." This precept became to Socrates the holiest of all tests. He unceasingly compelled men to take a just measure of their own real knowledge or real ignorance. His maxim was: not physiology but psychology; not matter but mind; not cosmogony but consciousness; not stars but living men. Xenophon[15] says: "Socrates incessantly discussed human affairs, investigating, What is piety? What is impiety? What is the honorable and the base? What is the just and the unjust? What is

[13] *Xem Mem.*, IV, 2, 24.

[14] It is doubtful whether this famous inscription had its origin with Thales (*Diog. Laert.*, I) or with the Delphic Pythia (Aristotle), or with Socrates (*Phædr.*, 229).

[15] *Mem.*, I, 1, 12, 16; IV, 7, 6.

temperance or unsound mind? What is courage or cowardice? What is a city? What is a character fit for a citizen? What is authority over men? What is the character befitting the exercise of such authority? and other similar questions. Men who knew these matters he accounted good and honorable; men who were ignorant of them he considered slaves." The epoch-making significance of Socrates is admirably expressed by Cicero[16] in his famous often quoted passage: "*Socrates primus philosophiam evocavit a coelo, et in urbibus callocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quaerere.*"

The fourth question in Socrates' epistemology was, *Are there any limits to human knowledge?* Socrates repeatedly expressed it as one of his deepest convictions that an essential part of true knowledge consisted in the consciousness of the limits of human knowledge. "The highest knowledge consists in the knowledge that man can know no more than the gods will permit him to know."[17] To this conclusion he was led by the arrogance and groundless assertions of the Sophists, as well as by his own profound meditation and his deep self-knowledge. Watching carefully all that transpired within himself, he discovered a residuum of feelings and impulses which could not be explained from what he knew of his inner life. And this he regarded as a direct divine revelation which he believed he possessed in what he called his *δαιμόνιον*,[18] a subject of the deepest interest, but not strictly germane to our theme.

Having discussed the definition, the nature and aim of the Socratic Method the track is clear to consider the different stages of the method.

First Stage: Purification of the Intellect.

Socrates believed that the purification of the intellect by a frank confession of ignorance was the chief condition of prog-

[16] *Cic. Tusc.*, V, 4, 10.

[17] *Mem.*, I, 1, 11.

[18] See *Mem.*, IV, 3, 14; also, Lasaul, *Demonion*, p. 18.

ress in the attainment of truth. By his proverbial confession of ignorance he meant to say two things, first that, while conversant with the opinions of men, he lacked "conceptual knowledge"—begriffliches Wissen—and, secondly, that he had no ready-made system to inculcate. Thus he was not only the founder of a sound theory of knowledge but also of an agnology, a theory of ignorance. The same weapon which he applied so mercilessly to himself, he tried also on others. He was the "great talker of Athens." He "prattled without end," as his enemies described his dialectical conversation. Early in the morning Socrates frequented the public walks, the gymnasia for bodily training and the schools where youths were receiving instruction; he was to be seen in the market place at the hour when it was most crowded. He talked with any one, young or old, rich or poor, who sought to address him, and in the hearing of all who chose to stand by. As Lewes[19] says: "He gave no lectures; he only talked. He wrote no books, he argued." The language is therefore undoubtedly historical which Plato[20] puts into his mouth respecting the inefficiency of books. "Books cannot be interrogated, cannot answer, we can only learn from them that which we knew before." Moreover, this mode of discussion, so much in harmony with the marked sociability of the Greek character, the quick recurrence of short question and answer was needful as a stimulus to the attention, at a time when the habit of close and accurate reflection on abstract subjects had been so little cultivated.

Socrates held that to make a man willing to be taught, the only condition required was to make him conscious of his own ignorance, the want of which consciousness was the real cause of his indocility. The most of all ignorance he conceived to be when a man was ignorant of himself, fancying that he knew, what he did not really, *i. e.,* conceptually, know. His elenchus was therefore animated by the truest spirit of positive science and formed an indispensable precursor to its attain-

[19] *History of Philosophy,* p. 136.
[20] *Phædrus,* p. 96.

ment. Hence Socrates entertained no distrust of the powers of the mind to attain unto certainty. He laid down as we now believe, an erroneous line of distinction between the knowable and the unknowable, excluding physics from the former, but respecting man and society he asserted in the strongest terms possible, that certainty of knowledge was attainable even though *he* did not as yet have it. Nay, Socrates went further and asserted that every man *ought* to know what was knowable, for ignorance here was vice, while knowledge he regarded as virtue. There are two points only concerning man and society with regard to which Socrates is really a skeptic. He denies first, that men can know that upon which they have bestowed no conscious effort, no systematic study. He denies, next, that men can practice what they do not know. Socrates felt persuaded that no man could behave as a just, temperate, courageous, pious, patriotic agent, unless he taught himself to know correctly what justice, temperance, courage, piety and patriotism really were. In this, Socrates goes to the extreme, when asserting, "If it were possible wittingly to do evil, it would be better to do so than to commit it unwittingly, for in the latter case the first condition of all right action—a knowing state of mind—would be found wanting, while in the former it would be there, the doer being only faithless to it for the moment. In his campaign against "the conceit of knowledge" without the reality, he considered himself victorious even with the negative rèsult, "We have thus seen that we know not." And many dialogues in Plato and Xenophon close ostentatiously with the above confession, as *e. g.,* the following: The famous Sophist Hippias of Elis, on his return to Athens after an absence of some time happened to come in the way of Socrates as he was observing to some people how surprising it was that, if a man wished to have another taught to be a shoemaker or a carpenter, he was at no loss whither he should send him, while as to justice, he should not know whither to go to learn it. Hippias, hearing this remark, said, as if jesting with him, "What! are you still saying the same things Socrates,

that I heard from you so long ago?" "Yes," said Socrates, "and what is more wonderful, I am not only still saying the same things, but am saying them on the same subject; but you, perhaps, from being possessed of such variety of knowledge, never say the same things on the same subjects?" "Certainly," replied Hippias, "I do always try to say something new." "About matters of which you have certain knowledge then," said Socrates, "as, for instance, about the letters of the alphabet, if any one were to ask you how many and what letters are in the word Socrates, would you try to say sometimes one thing and sometimes another?" "About such matters," replied Hippias, "I, like you, always say the same thing; but concerning justice I think that I have certainly something to say now which neither you nor any other person can refute." "By Juno," returned Socrates, "it is a great good that you say you have discovered, and I know not how I can part with you till I have learned so important a benefit from its discoverer." "You shall not hear it," returned Hippias, "until you yourself declare what you think justice to be; for it is enough that you laugh at others, questioning and confuting everybody while you yourself are unwilling to declare your opinion on any subject."—The dialogue continues at great length and both pass with the tacit understanding that neither knows what justice really is.

The method which Socrates used so effectively in these cross-questionings was the famous "Socratic Irony," which may be defined as an ignorance purposely affected to provoke or confound an antagonist and to lead him to the same conclusion that Socrates had reached in respect to himself, namely: I know not the concept of things and without such knowledge no real knowledge is possible, but only opinion and seeming. Schleiermacher[21] ingeniously remarks that "the irony of Socrates is nothing else than the coexistence in him of the *Idea of Knowledge,* with the absence of positive acquirement." It is, therefore, a mistake to represent this irony to be merely

[21] *Philosophische Werke,* III, 4, 9.

a trick of conversation by which to lure others on the ice in order to laugh at their fall. On the contrary, it is an earnest endeavor of Socrates, thinking himself without conceptual knowledge but prompted by a strong impulse for it, to learn from others what they know in this line. Of course in the attempt to discover real, *i. e.,* conceptual knowledge by a critical analysis of their notions, their supposed knowledge very often vanished into nothing. But this was not the end Socrates sought. Timon, the Satyrist, and Zeno, the Epicurean, are therefore wrong in describing Socrates "as a buffoon whose sole object was to turn everything into ridicule, especially men of eminence." On the contrary, it was intended to act as a stirring and propulsive force. There was a great difference between the irony peculiar to Socrates and what is usually called irony, the kind peculiar to the Athenians.

This cross-questioning Socrates regarded as a religious duty. He refers to it in the most solemn hour of his life at his trial.[22] A great admirer of Socrates, Cherephon, had put the question to the Pythian priestess at Delphi whether any other man was wiser than Socrates. The reply was that no other man was wiser. Socrates affirms that he was greatly perplexed on hearing this declaration from so infalliable an authority, being conscious that he possessed no wisdom on any subject. After much meditation he resolved to test the oracle by measuring the wisdom of others with his own. He conversed with politicians, poets, orators, craftsmen and others. "The result which I acquired," says Socrates, "was, that I was a wiser man than they, for neither they nor I knew anything of what was truly good or honorable. The great difference between us was that they fancied that they knew something, while I was fully conscious of my own ignorance; I was thus wiser than they inasmuch as I was exempt from that capital error of conceit. Thus the oracle was proved to be right. Fulfilling the mission imposed upon me I have thus established the veracity of the god who meant to pronounce that human wisdom was of little

[22] Plato, *Apologia,* 96.

reach or worth. My service to the god has not only constrained me to live in constant poverty and neglect of political estimation but has brought upon me a host of bitter enemies in those whom I have examined and exposed. Nevertheless it would be monstrous if I from fear of death were to disobey the oracle and desert the post which the god has assigned to me, cross-questioning both myself and others. And should you even now offer to acquit me on condition of my renouncing this duty, I should tell you that I will obey the god rather than you, and that I will persist until my dying day in cross-questioning you. If I tell you that silence on my part would be disobedience to the god you will think me unjust and not believe; but so it is."

Second Stage: "Intellectual Pregnancy."

The passing away of the illusions of false knowledge led to a mental quickening, which Plato, in his exuberant fancy, calls "intellectual pregnancy." This was the middle state in the ascent to the hill of truth, the state of *φιλοσοφία*, a love of wisdom. The three stages are described thus:[23] "No god philosophizes, or desires to become wise, for they are so. And if there is any other being who is wise, neither does he philosophize. Nor do the ignorant philosophize, for they do not desire to become wise. On this very account ignorance is in a hard case, in that a person, being neither beautiful nor good, nor wise, still appears to himself to be all-sufficient. Hence, he who fancies himself to be not wanting, does not desire that of which he fancies he is not in want. Who then, are they who philosophize if they are neither the wise nor the ignorant? This is clear even to a child, that they are those between both of these, the lovers. For of the things most beautiful is wisdom. Now love is conversant with the beautiful, consequently love is necessarily attached to wisdom. A lover of wisdom, a *φιλόσοφος*, is between the wise and the ignorant.

[23] Plato, *Symposium*, 510.

Third Stage: Mental Maieutics.

It is with such parturient minds as these that Socrates busied himself. Having created in them an uneasy longing after truth he regarded it as his special vocation and skill to aid them in that mental parturition whereby they were to be relieved. "In this I imitate my mother," he says.[24] "She no longer bears children herself, but being a midwife she helps others to bring their births into the world. In like manner I perform the office of a midwife to my friends. I put questions to them until the hidden fruit of their understanding comes to light. But at the same time I scrutinize narrowly the offspring which they bring forth; and if it prove distorted or unpromising I cast it away with the rigor of a Lycurgean nurse, whatever might be the reluctance of the mother-mind to part with its new born."

We must not overlook that the method of Socrates resulted from the notions he had formed respecting the nature of the soul. Socrates thought that little mental improvement could be produced by expositions directly communicated, or by matter lodged in the memory. It was necessary in his opinion, that mind should work upon mind, by short question and answer in order to generate new thoughts and powers. This he thought the only effectual way of propagating the philosophic spirit. Instead, therefore, of commencing with lofty speculations, often unintelligible for most of those whom one wishes to instruct, we should in the opinion of Socrates take hold of men's minds as they are, with their ideas and even their prejudices, in order to gradually raise them to the knowledge of truth. He was persuaded that the soul contained the germs of the truth, but enveloped and even smothered by vain opinions engendered by what is fleeting and seeming. He began therefore by setting the soul free from this envelope in order to give scope for the development of these innate germs. We should, he thought, go in among these false notions, put them in opposition to each other and thus make

[24] *Theæt.*, 150, μαιεῦσθαι με ὁ θεὸς ἀναγκάξω γεννᾶν δὲ ἀπεκώλυσεν.

them destroy one another. Hence the subtle disputations to which Socrates did not disdain to descend. It is in the dialogue "Meno," where Socrates unfolds this remarkable hypothesis of eternal preëxistence, boundless past experience and omniscience of the mind. All knowledge is reminiscence. When truth is presented to us we recognize it as an old friend after a long absence. We know it by reason of its conformity to our antecedent, pre-natal experience; the mind has become omniscient by having seen, heard and learned everything, both on earth and in hades, but such knowledge exists as a confused and unavoidable mass, having been buried and forgotten on the commencement of its actual life. By suitable interrogations a teacher may recall to the memory of his pupils many facts and judgments which have been hitherto forgotten. In modern terminology we would speak of these observations as the doctrine of innate ideas.

Fourth Stage: Valid Definitions.

In all his questioning Socrates did not deny that he was after the essence of things and the finding of the "concepts." "To search out the What of everything was the unceasing care of Socrates," says Xenophon. With this fundamental theory that true knowledge must be based on correct conceptions, however simple it may appear to us, an entire change in the intellectual process was demanded. In previous philosophy thought had been directed immediately to the object as such, things were regarded as being what they appeared to be to the senses; or if contradictory experience forbade this it clung to those appearances which made the strongest impression on the observer, declaring these to constitute the essence and thence draw further conclusions. In the Socratic philosophy thought was directed immediately to the conception, and to the object only mediately, through the conception. In so much as all scientific thought is inseparably connected Socrates attached importance to even trivial subjects as not unworthy of careful investigation regarding the connection between the

thought and the thing, because even these were connected with all truth by means of whatever truth or certainty they contained.

Induction as the Essence of the Socratic Method.

The term in modern philosophy for the Socratic method is induction. By induction Socrates reached "conceptual knowledge." That is, he advanced from facts to abstractions, from the particular to the universal, from the known to cases hitherto unobserved or unexamined. "To Socrates we may unquestionably assign two novelties, inductive discourses and the definitions of general terms," writes his great pupil Aristotle. But this process of induction Socrates did not reduce within clearly-defined lines. All that he has clearly expressed is the general postulate that everything must be reduced to its concept and that true knowledge belongs only to the concept. Further details about the mode and manner of this induction and its strict logical forms were not yet molded into a theory. The method was applied by him rather as the result of individual skill.

By this entire process Socrates brought people to see, as Plato puts it, the one in the many and the many in the one. Assuredly we may echo Grote's statement, that it requires at the present day some mental effort to see anything important in the invention of notions so familiar as those of genus, definition, the individual things as comprehended in a genus—what each thing is, and to what genus it belongs, etc. Nevertheless four centuries before Christ these terms denoted mental processes which few, if any but Socrates, had a distinct recognition of, in the form of analytical consciousness. The novelty was very distasteful to those who were not seduced by it. Men resent being forced to rigor of speech and thought; they call you "pedantic" if you insist on their using terms with definite meaning; they prefer the loose flowing language of indefinite associations which picks up in its course a variety of heterogenous meanings; and are irritated at any speaker who points out to them the inaccuracy of their phrases.

The following dialogue may serve to illustrate the different stages of the Socratic method. Meno.—Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue is teachable? Socrates.—I am ashamed to say that I do not even know what virtue is, and when I do not know what a thing is, how can I know anything about its attributes? M.—But is it really true, Socrates, that you do not know what virtue is? S.—Yes, and more than this I have never met with any one who did know. Meno proceeds to answer that there are many virtues: the virtue of a man—competence to transact the business of the city. The virtue of a woman—to administer the house well. The virtue of a child, of an old man, a slave, etc. Socrates rejects this answer. I asked for the virtue and you mention a host of virtues. In answer to my question you ought to declare what all the single virtues have in common, through the communion of which they are virtues. Meno tries again, and answers, "it is to be competent, to exercise command over men." Socrates is not satisfied with this answer and rejoins: "but that will not suit for the virtue of a child or a slave." M.—Very true. I say too, that there are other virtues, namely, courage, moderation, wisdom, etc. S.—But my good man, we are, thus still in the same predicament. In looking for one virtue, we have found many; but we cannot find that one form which runs through them all. Meno in his bewilderment exclaims: "Your conversation Socrates, produces the effect of a shock of a torpedo. You stun and confound me. I have often discoursed copiously—and as I thought effectively—upon virtue, but now you have shown that I do not even know what virtue is." Socrates replies: "If I throw you into perplexity it is only because I am myself in the like perplexity and ignorance. I do not know what virtue is any more than you and I shall be glad to continue the search after it if you will assist me."

This dialogue illustrates admirably the various stages of the Socratic method. First, he knows not what virtue is; secondly, he examines Meno and finds that he also knows not the con-

cept of virtue, and affirms that he never found one who knew it; thirdly, he creates doubt and perplexity in the mind of Meno, accompanied by an intense desire to arrive at certainty; fourthly, Socrates assists his interlocutor in bringing to daylight what was slumbering in his mind. The whole process is inductive in that it proceeds from propositions best known to truths less known and culminates in the definition of the essence of the thing under consideration, the forming of a concept. The concept of virtue, indeed, was not found; but, what was more important to Socrates, the "concept of the concept" was found. From henceforth Meno knew what a real definition must look like.

III.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF JESUS.

LESTER REDDIN.

The matter of supreme interest to Jesus was man. He Himself makes no explicit statement to this effect, but the fact is evinced by His words and actions throughout His public ministry. In contrast with John the Baptist, around whom there clung a spirit of self-reserve, Jesus came both eating and drinking (Matt. 11: 18, 19), and mingling freely in human society. He went into the homes of the people and accepted their hospitality (Lk. 10: 38, 7: 36, Mk. 2: 15, Lk. 19: 5 ff.), attended their weddings (Jn. 2: 2), and visited their sick (Mk. 1: 30–31). The sphere of His social activity was not circumscribed by party lines nor racial boundaries; and He displayed extraordinary adaptability to the various conditions of the human mind and feelings. He discussed theological niceties with the learned doctors in the temple with a facility which astonished "all that heard Him" (Lk. 2: 47), and He talked entertainingly to the Samaritan woman concerning the superiority of the Water of Life which He gives over the water which she might draw from the ancestral well (Jn. 4: 7–26). He loved the rich young ruler whose moral life was beyond reproach (Mk. 10: 21), and His attitude toward the less pretentious class was such as to call forth from His critics the epithet, "A friend of publicans and sinners" (Matt. 11: 16–20). He found Himself perfectly at ease at a dinner given in His honor at the home of aristocratic Simon, and the simplicity of the home of Mary and Martha was not objectionable to him. Indeed, no one has ever more truly become "all things to all men" than did Jesus the Nazarene. Nor did He fail to interest men in Himself. His oft-repeated challenge to men was, "Follow me"; and, although many of those who were at

first interested in Him afterward staggered at His teaching, and "went back and walked no more with Him" (vide Jn. 6: 60, 66), the Evangelists frequently tell us of the multitudes who thronged around Him. "The common people heard Him gladly" because He was in "hearing distance" of the common people; and He could say to His own disciples: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." He called the rugged fishermen of Galilee to forsake their nets, and become His constant companions that they might learn to be "fishers of men." It is true, He said: "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work" (Jn. 4: 34), but He was doing the will of the Father when He was ministering to the highest needs of men. As the Good Shepherd He lays down His life for the sheep, and with such service the Father is well pleased (Jn. 10: 15, 17). He was interested in men for their own sakes. He could have said with Paul: "I seek not yours, but you." He "came not to be ministered to, but to minister" (Matt. 20: 28, Mk. 10: 45). Therefore He was not willing to become entangled in the economic affairs of men. It is true that on two different occasions He multiplied the loaves and fishes and satisfied the hunger of the multitudes, but He would not allow Himself to be made king by those who "ate of the loaves and were filled." Although He admits, when on trial before Pilate, His claim to be "king of the Jews," He proceeds to explain that His "kingdom is not of this world," and, therefore, in no sense a rival to the Roman authority. He would not even claim His rightful exemption from paying the temple tax (Matt. 17: 24 ff.). He refused to become an administrator of an estate, and thus guarantee to the complaining son his proper share of his father's goods (Lk. 12: 14). He showed no inclination to use His friendly office to equalize household duties between two sisters, but He called the attention of the complaining one to the higher concerns of life (Lk. 10: 40 ff.).

One with such sympathetic interest in men, who "had no need that any one should testify concerning man, for He Him-

self knew what is in man," should be listened to as an authoritative teacher of things pertaining to the nature and possibilities of our race. This great teacher has spoken, and it is the purpose of this article to set forth His utterances on this subject.

I. The Origin of Man.

In the few passages in which Jesus refers to the origin of man, He speaks, not in the languages of the laboratory or the class-room in science, but in the language of a religious teacher. "Hypotheses" and "working formulæ" hold no place in His pedagogical program. He takes no cognizance of mediating causes, but goes directly to the one great First Cause. He has nothing to say concerning a method or a process of the creation of man; it is sufficient for Him to say that God made him. The assumption of this fact lies at the basis of all His teaching; it is positively stated by Him once (Mk. 10: 6, Matt. 19: 7). He does not deny that the race has made progress since the creation—a fact patent in His day as well as in our own day—but He insists that the present sex distinctions and family instincts have existed from the beginning; and He predicts that such will continue until His coming (Matt. 24: 38).

Jesus does not teach that men stand in the relation of sons to God by virtue of their creation. It is true that when speaking to His own disciples concerning God and His activities in the world and among men, He not infrequently uses such appellations as "Your Father" (Mat. 6: 8), "Your Heavenly Father" (v. 14), "Your Father who is in Heaven" (ibid., 23: 9); but, on the other hand, He said to those who boasted of their descent from Abraham and their consequent freedom: "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the desires of your father ye will do" (Jn. 8: 44). Thus it is obvious that the sonship which Jesus predicated of men is ethical rather than natural, a relationship into which men are brought, not by the operation of forces over which they have no control, but by their own free choices. To be children, therefore, of the Heavenly Father men must have a moral likeness to Him (cf.

Matt. 5: 9, 45). But as the creature of God's hand man is the object of His constant watchcare and providence. The Creator does not seclude Himself from His world nor hide His face from His creatures, but He is ever in the world, and He sees even that which is done in secret (Matt. 6: 4). Not even the minutest details in the lives of His creatures escape His notice; He even numbers the hairs of man's head. All men, irrespective of their moral character, are the constant recipients of His material blessings; "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (Matt. 5: 45). Although no one of us is able, by his own anxiety, to add one cubit to his stature, yet He who clothes the lilies of the field in their robes of beauty and feeds the fowls of the air will continue to provide food and raiment for men who are of more value than many sparrows (Matt. 6: 25 ff., 10: 29 ff.).

II. Man's Capacity for Religion.

Jesus everywhere assumes that man is capable of having religious experiences. Native depravity He does not deny, but He never would admit that men are naturally so depraved that they have no religious propensities. Indeed, His teaching and appeals to men would have been folly on any other assumption than that His hearers were constitutionally capable of comprehending and responding to His message. In His words, as well as in His actions, He implies that men have a native faculty to discern and appropriate to themselves truth concerning God, and to come into vital relationship with Him. "No man," He says, "can come to me, except the Father who sent me draw him" (Jn. 6: 44), but there must first be within man that which is tractable, that which makes it possible for him to be drawn to the Son when the divine influences are brought to bear upon him. Jesus found this appetency for religion so acute in the lives of the people of His day that they were fainting from the lack of proper spiritual leadership (Matt. 9: 36). How could the Son reveal the

Father to men, unless they were able to receive His revelation? He declares that Peter had received a revelation from the Heavenly Father concerning the identity of the Christ which flesh and blood never could have made to him (Matt. 16: 17). Philip, during the "long time" that he was with his Lord, ought to have found in Him the very revelation of the Father Himself (Jn. 14: 9). He expressed wonder that Cleopas and his unnamed companion on the way to Emmaus should have been so slow to comprehend that measure of divine revelation contained in the Old Testament concerning Israel's Redeemer and His work (Lk. 24: 25ff.). Men can distinguish between light and darkness, but many deliberately choose darkness rather than light lest their deeds which are evil should be made manifest by the light. He implies, however, that men may so abuse that innate power of soul that they are no longer susceptible to spiritual impressions; when to give the gospel to them would be as useless as to cast pearls before swine (Matt. 7: 6). Exegetes are quite generally agreed that there is, in His words to those Pharisees who charged Him with casting out demons by the power of Beelzebul, an implied charge of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, a sin which He pronounces unpardonable. Perhaps the unpardonableness of their crime is grounded in the fact that they had so stifled their power of spiritual discernment as to be unable further to distinguish between the works of God and the works of Satan. It was the purpose of Jesus to train this tendency of the human soul in the right direction, and to this end He adjusted His appeal to whatever degree of religious intelligence and interest He found in the life of any given individual. In His words to the apathetic and indifferent there was a commingling of reproof, threat, and promise (Lk. 13: 1–9). He repressed rash discipleship (Matt. 8: 19–20), and sought to stimulate the sluggish (vv. 21–22); He put to the test the faith of His most devoted followers by thrusting upon them a decision between continued fidelity to Him and turning back with those who "walked no more with

Him" (Jn. 6: 66, 67). On the eve of His passion He says that those whom His Father had given Him had so exercised this power as to be assured of the divine character of Him and His message (Jn. 17: 7, 8).

III. Man's Present Religious Status.

Jesus recognizes that man in his present state is estranged from God. This estrangement results in an attitude of antagonism on the part of man toward things divine. Matters of a human origin, therefore, belong in an entirely different category from matters of a heavenly origin. If the baptism of John were of men, it could not have a heavenly character, because the one is incompatible with the other (Matt. 21: 25, Mk. 11: 30, Lk. 20: 4). For Peter, in his well-intended counsel to his Lord, to savor the things of men rather than the things of God was a positive "offence" to the Lord, and provoked from His lips words of rebuke such as were never spoken even to the traitor. Jesus warns His disciples of the opposition which they may expect of the world because they are not of the world. So dominant is this hostility of the world to the cause of righteousness that His great shepherd heart went out in prayer to the Father that His disciples might be divinely kept from the evil of the world (Jn. 17: 15). In that memorable passage, John 3: 16, He teaches that all men would have perished but for His coming into the world. In His defence of Himself before those who murmured at His going in to be the guest of a "sinner," He speaks of man as "that which is lost," and declares that His mission in the world is to save such. Although man is thus alienated from God and righteousness, there is hope of his recovery. The lost sheep has not strayed so far away but that the Shepherd may "go after the lost one until He find it." The prodigal son has not become so debased but that he may "come to himself" and resolve in his heart to return to his father's house. Although Jesus does not give an elaborate doctrine of sin, such, for example, as Paul gives in the

fifth chapter of his letter to the Romans, He recognizes sin as the cause of man's alienation from God. The presence of moral and spiritual disorder in the race is the occasion of His appearance in the drama of human history. The words of the angel in the annunciation to Joseph: "He shall save His people from their sins" (Matt. 1: 21), find their echo in the words of Jesus: "I came . . . to call . . . sinners to repentance" (Matt. 9: 13, Mk. 2: 17, Lk. 5: 32, cf. Lk. 15 *passim*). The remission of sins, therefore, is the great end to be accomplished by His sacrificial service. "Thus it is written that the Christ should suffer and rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and the remission of sins should be preached in His name to all the nations" (Lk. 24: 46, 47).

IV. The Worth of Man.

Jesus seems not to have placed a very high premium on a corpse. It was not His purpose to discourage filial love and obedience; but, on the contrary, He censured those Scribes who had contrived a scheme to release a son from all filial obligation for making void the word of God by their traditions. But He would have the young man who wished to defer his discipleship until he had buried his father, to think of the body of his deceased parent as a matter of little consequence. But, on the other hand, Jesus was really the first to teach the true worth of human life. Aristotle had taught the Greeks to think of a slave as "a kind of animate machine," and the highest motive for benevolence which the great Roman moralist, Seneca, knew was the "consciousness of having a noble nature." But Jesus gave to the world an altruistic ideal; He presented a motive which is objective rather than subjective; He placed the emphasis on the worth of man. To Him life is more than meat, and, therefore, He would have His disciples infer that He who is the author of life will not withhold from His creatures those things which are necessary for the sustenance of life. Man is of incalculably more value than a sheep, and, therefore, there is a very great responsi-

bility resting upon men to care for the preservation of the lives of their fellow men. Perhaps He does not require one to hazard his own life to save the life of his fellow, although His words to the Twelve, "Love one another as I have loved you" (Jn. 15: 12), may imply this. To Cain's interrogation: "Am I my brother's keeper?" He would reply affirmatively. "Give ye them to eat," was His reply to the Twelve when they desired Him to send the multitude away from Him hungry. The example of the priest and the Levite who failed to care for the one who had been wounded by robbers is pointed out by Him in such a way as to provoke contempt rather than admiration from His hearers; whereas the example of the Samaritan who dressed the wounds of the unfortunate man and further provided for his necessities is presented in such a way as to win their approval. He teaches that it is permissible to do manual labor on the Sabbath day, if necessary to save life or to alleviate suffering. There is, furthermore, a heavy responsibility for *self*-preservation resting upon every man. It is folly to accumulate riches at the hazard of one's soul, for the whole world is not to be compared to the worth of the soul. Nor is the care of the spiritual—although of primary importance—the whole duty of man; it is incumbent on him to care for his physical life also. It is true, the Great Teacher admonishes men not to labor for "the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life"; to lose one's life for His sake and the gospel's is meritorious of eternal life, but, where there is no conflict with the eternal interests of the soul, there is a responsibility resting on every man to protect that life which God has given him. This duty of self-preservation, written by the Creator in the very nature of men, takes precedence over certain positive religious requirements. It takes precedence over the Levitical law regulating the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, and, therefore, it was proper for David to enter the House of God and eat the Shewbread, which, because of its sanctity, was "not lawful to eat but for the priests only," rather than submit to suicidal

hunger. It takes precedence over the Sabbath law, and, therefore, the disciples are justified in violating the Sabbath law by reaping grain to satisfy the hunger of their bodies.

Thus we see that the sublimest conception of man ever given to the world was given by Him who, although He spent His life in a ministry of love and mercy to men, was thought, by the members of His own family to be "beside himself," and by His enemies to be possessed by a demon.

CHESTER, PA.

IV.

PREPARATION FOR THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

A Catechetical Suggestion Arranged According to the Teaching of Jesus.

SCOTT R. WAGNER.

For many years the writer has felt that there was a vital need of something to supplement the instruction that is usually given in connection with the Heidelberg Catechism. To be a member of the Church and to live a Christian life means more today than it did in the sixteenth century. Our prospective church members need more emphasis on the devotional and ethical side of life. The following treatise has been worked out with these and other evident needs in mind, especially toward the end that the instruction before confirmation shall be more in harmony with the preaching and teaching from the pulpit after confirmation.

It is very essential to give catechumens the view point of religious education that will be familiar when they worship in the sanctuary. There was a time when the Heidelberg Catechism was the basis for much, if not most, of the pulpit utterances. Since there are very few churches any more that teach along the lines of former days it follows that if the newly confirmed are to take up the many duties of the Christian life and feel at home in the presence of the sermons they hear they must receive instruction which, to some extent, supplements that which is at present provided.

The following material has been worked out gradually and used in conjunction with the Heidelberg Catechism. It is not presumed to solve what we call in this day "the catechetical problem," but is offered as a suggestion toward that end. In its use over a period of three years it has proven to be of

value to the limited number using it. Last winter the contents of the present article was read before the Lehigh Valley Ministerial Association. The association was unanimous in asking for its publication in such form that it could be given more careful examination. Through the pages of the REVIEW it is now given to a larger circle with the hope that it will receive the criticism of each one who may read it.

Should it be the desire of a sufficient number of pastors, after some possible alteration, it will be put in such form as to be readily available for their use.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. What as a Christian is my first duty in life?

My first duty in life, as a Christian, is to preserve, develop and use all my powers of body, mind and soul in harmony with the spirit and will of God, my heavenly Father.

Lk. 2: 40; Lk. 2: 42; Lk. 2: 49; Mtt. 6: 33; Jno. 10: 30; Jno. 15: 8.

Meditation.—Am I willing to so learn God's will that I may be able to say, with Jesus, in regard to all my thoughts, plans, desires, and acts, "I must be about my Father's business"?

2. What is the purpose of this course of study?

The purpose of this course of study is to enable me, by the study of God's word, by the practice of prayer, by the aid of the Spirit, and by the direction of my teacher, to become prepared in body, mind, and soul, to live in harmony with the spirit and will of God, and to enjoy all the blessings of the Christian life.

Mtt. 6: 6; Jno. 16: 13; 2 Tim. 2: 15; 2 Tim. 3: 16–17; Eph. 4: 11–12.

Meditation.—Do I read my Bible daily, searching for the word that may be a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path? Do I enjoy fellowship with my Father in daily prayer?

I. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

3. What is the Christian life?

The Christian life is the life of God in the soul of man, as revealed by Jesus Christ.

Jno. 6: 38; 17: 4; 14: 9; 10: 10; Mtt. 5: 48; Mk. 9: 41.

Study.—Name the various subjects treated by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Mtt. 5–7).

4. How did Jesus reveal the life of God that was in him?

Jesus revealed the life of God by perfectly living a life of self sacrifice and loving service, also by his teaching and his mighty works.

Jno. 1: 4; 8: 29; 20: 30–31; Mtt. 8: 20; Lk. 8: 1.

Meditation.—Is there anything I ought to do for Jesus' sake that I leave undone?

5. How should I apply this spirit to my life?

By being ready and willing to give up and abandon any interest or desire that is merely self pleasing, for the purpose of using all my energy and ability for the welfare of others and the glory of God.

Lk. 5: 11; 9: 23–24; Jno. 17: 19; Rom. 12: 9.

Meditation.—Is there anything that I should give up that I might enter more fully into the Christian life?

6. Is the Christian life then more than to deny myself and resist evil?

Yes, Jesus taught us to deny ourselves and to resist evil that we might be the better fitted for Christian service.

Jno. 17: 17–18; Mtt. 20: 28; 29: 27; 7: 21.

Study.—The parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10: 25–37) and note what Jesus commends.

7. Does Jesus commend a life of energy and activity in his service?

Jesus called only industrious men to become his disciples, and God has always set his highest approval upon those who, guided by his presence, have been most active and faithful in the pursuit of the worthy ends of life.

Mtt. 25: 21; 25: 40; Lk. 10: 37; Jno. 15: 16; 2 Thes. 3: 13.

Study.—Read the parable of the Talents (Mtt. 25: 14–30) and note what is praised and what condemned.

II. Of the Mission of Jesus and our Mission.

8. Where may I learn about the life and teaching of Jesus Christ?

In the four books of the New Testament, known as the gospels according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John.

Mtt. 1: 1; Mk. 1: 1; Lk. 1: 1–4.

Study.—Commit the names and nature of all the books in the New Testament.

9. Can I learn about the mission of Christ and the Christian life from any other sources?

Yes, many parts of the Old Testament, and most of the remainder of the New Testament, contain records and references which are not only important but necessary to a proper understanding of the mission of Christ and the Christian life.

Jno. 16: 12–13; 2 Tim. 3: 16; Heb. 1: 1–2.

Study.—Learn the divisions of the Old Testament and the names of the books in each division.

10. What does Jesus teach us concerning himself?

Jesus teaches us that he is the revelation of the Father; the Son of God; the son of Man; the Messiah; the Savior of the lost. He also declares that he and the Father are one, and that his message was not his but that of his Father who sent him.

Jno. 4: 25–26; 9: 35–37; 10: 30; 14: 9; Lk. 19: 10.

Commit.—

> "Father of eternal grace,
> Glorify Thyself in me;
> Meekly beaming in my face,
> May the world Thine image see."

11. What does Jesus say further in regard to his mission?

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that

are bruised, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk. 4: 18–19).

Matt. 11: 2–6.

Commit.—

> "The healing of the seamless dress
> Is by our beds of pain.
> We touch Him in life's throng and press,
> And we are whole again.
> O Lord and Master of us all.
> Whate'er our name or sign,
> We own Thy sway, we hear Thy call,
> We test our lives by Thine."

12. Give some other expressions in which Jesus explains his mission.

He says: "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly"; "the son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost"; "to fulfill and not to destroy." He also refers to himself as "the way, the truth, and the life," "the bread of life," "the good shepherd"; etc., and declares that he came "not to be ministered unto but to minister."

Jno. 6: 38; Mtt. 7: 1–5.

Meditation.—"Look up and not down, look out and not in, look forward and not back, and lend a hand."

13. What is the mission of Jesus according to John 3: 16?

That because of God's eternal love for man he sent Jesus Christ to manifest that love, and offered all who accepted His divine message and believed in His mission the gift of eternal life.

Jno. 1: 12; 1: 16; 12: 46; Psa. 103: 13; Jude 21.

Study.—The twenty-third Psalm and note the attitude of God toward us.

14. What then may I understand to be my mission as a follower of Jesus?

It follows that my mission as a follower of Jesus is not only to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ as my Savior, but also to take up, establish, and extend, as though they were my own, the aims and ends for which He lived and died.

Jno. 14: 1; Lk. 10: 37; Mtt. 28: 19–20; Jno. 17: 18; 20: 21.

Commit.—

> "Jesus, I live to Thee
> The loveliest and best;
> My life in Thee, Thy life in me,
> In Thy blest love I rest."

15. What are some of these aims that should control my life?

(1) That the result of all my desires and acts may lead me toward the perfect life of God. (2) That having been blest by my fellowship with God, in Christ Jesus, I become a blessing to my associates. (3) That I manifest, daily, the truth of the gospel to every creature.

Mtt. 5: 13–14; 5: 48; 28: 18–20; Gen. 12: 2; Mk. 5: 19; 10: 32.

Meditation.—Am I doing anything myself that I would condemn in others?

16. What does Jesus tell us is the highest good in life, toward which we should continually strive?

Jesus teaches us that the highest good in life is to be a member of the kingdom of God, living its righteousness and enjoying all the blessings which that life affords. But this cannot be had unless we seek it as of more value than any other possession.

Lk. 12: 31; Mtt. 6: 21; 5: 48; 13: 44–46; Mk. 8: 36.

Meditation.—In what definite way am I trying to add to the uplift of the lives of those with whom I come in touch?

III. Of the Kingdom of God.

17. What is meant by the kingdom of God?

By the kingdom of God is meant all such persons, who through faith, seek to live as brethren, in harmony with the will of God, and whose desire is to accomplish all such good works as He has prepared for them to walk in.

Matt. 5: 44–45; 23: 8–9; 25: 40; Mk. 3: 31–35; Rom. 14: 17.

Study.—Mtt. 25: 31–46 and note what traits of character are most commended and hence most desirable.

18. What is it to have faith in God?

It is to look up with love and confidence to God, whom I reverence as higher, holier, wiser, and in every way, above myself; to depend upon Him and patiently obey his will.

Heb. 11: 1–3.

Study.—The four factors of faith are reverence, confidence, dependence, obedience. Read all of Heb. 11, and notice the relation of faith to conduct.

19. What does Jesus teach as the general law of the kingdom?

The law to govern life in this kingdom is none other than the will of God.

Mtt. 6: 10; 7: 21.

Prayer.—

"Teach me, my God and King,
Thy will in all to see;
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee."

20. How may I know what the will of God is?

By the study of God's word; by the study of Christ's life; by prayer; by the preaching of the word; and by obedience to my conscience in following my highest and holiest motives.

Jn. 7: 17; Mtt. 26: 39; 5: 8.

Prayer.—Wilt Thou bless me, my Father, with such purity of heart and life that I may be able always to learn thy will and then to conform my actions to thy will?

21. What special invitation did Jesus give to take up the life of the kingdom?

"Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (Mtt. 11: 28–30).

Isa. 55: 1–3. Rev. 22: 17.

Commit.—

"Just as I am; Thy love unknown
Has broken every barrier down;
Now, to be Thine, yea, Thine alone,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come."

22. What special promises are extended to all who accept this invitation?

God promises to all who come unto Him and who keep his commandments that fulness and abundance of life which leads to peace, happiness and true success.

Jno. 15: 7; 14: 21; 14: 27; 13: 17; Prov. 16: 20; Psa. 37: 3–5.

Prayer.—For all thy blessings, O Lord, make us always truly grateful. Amen.

23. How should I come to God?

I should come always just as I am, willing to learn to walk as a child of the light, as God giveth me vision.

Heb. 11: 6; Jno. 3: 16.

Prayer.—

"Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah,
Pilgrim through this barren land;
I am weak, but Thou art mighty,
Hold me with Thy powerful hand.
Bread of heaven, bread of heaven,
Feed me till I want no more."

24. How then may I enter the kingdom of God and enjoy all its blessings and rewards?

(1) By seeking it with my whole heart, (2) by doing the will of God, or doing his commandments, (3) by the leading of the Spirit of God, (4) by faith, and (5) by loathing all manner of life that is contrary to his will.

Mtt. 7: 7; Jno. 14: 15; 14: 26; Mtt. 5: 8.

Prayer.—

"Gracious Spirit, love divine,
Let Thy light within me shine;
All my guilty fears remove,
Fill me full of heaven and love."

25. As a member of the kingdom of God how should I feel and act toward my fellow men?

As a member of this kingdom it behooves me to manifest always toward all people a spirit of helpfulness and fraternal service.

Mk. 9: 35; 10: 44; Mtt. 20: 25–28.

Study.—Jno. 13: 4–17, and note how Jesus unites greatness with humility.

26. What is the first commandment which Jesus has enjoined on all who profess to live in his kingdom?

Jesus says: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and mind and soul and strength; this is the first and great commandment and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Prov. 23: 26; 1 Jno. 4: 12; 2 Jno. 6.

Study.—First four of the Ten Commandments.

27. What other writers in scripture emphasize the same truths and principles?

Micah 6: 8, says "What doth the Lord God require of thee but to love mercy, do justly and to walk humbly with thy God"; St. Paul in Titus 2: 11–12 says: "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world"; and St. Jas. says in 1: 27: "Pure religion and undefiled before God the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

Isa. 1: 16–20.

Study.—Ten Commandments six to ten.

28. In what direct teachings do all these references agree?

They agree that my duties and responsibilities in the Christion life are three-fold: (1) Personal and godward; (2) Personal and manward, (3) Personal and selfward.

Lk. 4: 8; Jno. 21: 15–17; Mtt. 5: 8.

Commit.—

"Don't look for the flaws as you go through life,
And even when you find them,
It's wise and kind to be somewhat blind,
And search for the light behind them."

29. What is it to love God with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength?

It is to take real delight in prayer, in worship and in meditating upon his word, also to find my highest pleasure and success in life in living in harmony with his will.

Jno. 14: 15; 119: 97; Jno. 4: 24.

Meditation.—To please Him.

30. What is it to bring my heart and mind and soul and strength into harmony with his will?

It is to have only such affections as are pure and holy; to think only such thoughts as are clean and helpful; to desire only such ends in life as are noble and honest; and so to use my body as to preserve vigorous health and strength.

Jno. 14: 23; Mtt. 7: 7; Rom. 12: 1–2.

Commit.—Psalm 119: 33–40.

31. What is it for me to love myself?

To love myself is to think of myself as made in the image of God and to strive to be like Him; to try to be worthy of the best things in life; to develop in my work the highest possible efficiency; to do only such things as are positive and helpful in their effect upon me; and to keep myself in such purity of heart that divine truth may flow through me.

Mtt. 5: 48; Deut. 18: 13; Gen. 1: 27; Prov. 22: 29.

Meditation.—Am I in body, mind, and soul, the person I ought to be? Am I trying to be?

32. What is it for me to love my neighbor as Christ has here commanded?

It is to feel and act toward him in the spirit of the Golden Rule; to help him to live and love according to Christ's example and command; to feel so bound to him that his joys and sorrows become my joys and sorrows; and, so far as I

am able, to seek to minister to his temporal welfare and eternal salvation.

Mtt. 7: 12; 25: 34–40; Jno. 15: 12–13, 27; Lk. 10: 33–35.

Meditation.—

"O to be more like Jesus, O to have more of His love,
Deep in my heart, filling my soul, from the great heart above;
Jesus came loving and cheering, giving the hungry food,
Helping the poor and the needy, Jesus was kind and good."

33. What is the teaching of St. Paul on the qualities of love?

In 1 Cor. 13: 4–8, he says: "Love suffereth long and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth."

Mtt. 6: 43–48.

Study.—Henry Drummond sums up these thoughts in these words: "Patience, kindness, generosity, humility, courtesy, unselfishness, good temper, guilelessness and sincerity."

How do I measure up to this standard of love?

IV. Of Sin, Repentance and Forgiveness.

34. What is sin?

Sin is any act or disposition on my part which is contrary to God's will for me.

Mtt. 5: 21–37; 15: 18–20; 1 Jno. 3: 4.

Meditation.—Do I ever refuse to follow the higher and better voice of my soul, calling me towards a richer and more abundant life? Why?

35. What is repentance?

Repentance is the expression of the motive on my part to turn from and despise every act and disposition not in harmony with God's law of love, and at the same time definitely to turn toward Him and seek to do his will with my whole heart.

Mtt. 7: 21–23; Mk. 1: 15; 10: 21; 2 Cor. 7: 10; Psa. 51: 1–7.

Prayer.—Lord show me myself; Lord show me Thyself, and help me to want to become like Thee.

36. What is the forgiveness of sins?

The forgiveness of sins is that act of God's free grace, following my repentance, which removes from me the burden of the sense of guilt and separation and restores me again to a harmonious union with my Father.

Mtt. 21: 28–32; Lk. 8: 47–48; Mtt. 9: 5–6; Jno. 8: 11.

Commit.—Psa. 103: 1–5.

37. When may I know that I am forgiven?

When I have ceased to do, and learned to loathe, that which I know to be sinful; when I earnestly seek in all things to serve God and when I am able through love to manifest the forgiving disposition toward my fellow men.

Mtt. 6: 14–15; Psa. 51: 17; 119: 9–16.

Study.—Luke 15: 11–32, and note the various stages and the corresponding results in the story of this young man.

38. What is it to forgive others?

It is an act of our wills, prompted by the grace of God in our hearts, to pass by and overlook offences; in no wise to harbor the spirit of hate, ill-will, or the desire for revenge, against the person who has offended; and if possible to reunite in the joys of Christian fellowship.

Mtt. 18: 15–17, 21–22; Eph. 4: 32; Mtt. 5: 44–45.

Commit.—

> "Blest be the tie that binds
> Our hearts in Christian love;
> The fellowship of kindred minds
> Is like to that above."

V. Of the Christian Church.

39. For what purpose is the Christian Church maintained?

The Christian Church is maintained, through the spirit of God's presence, to develop and extend all those holy truths which entered into the mission of Jesus.

Jno. 20: 21; 21: 15–17; Mtt. 28: 19–20.

Commit.—

"Elect from every nation,
Yet one o'er all the earth,
Her charter of salvation
One Lord, one faith, one birth;
One holy name she blesses,
Partakes one holy food
And to one hope she presses,
With every grace endued."

40. Why should I unite with the Church?

That I may more fully enjoy the blessings of salvation and so put on the mind of Christ as to grow into his image and likeness; that I may become able to go about doing good and thus add to the joy of the world and the coming of the kingdom of God; that I may publicly worship the Lord, my God, and learn his will to do; and that I may assist in supporting all the works and institutions which the Church maintains.

Mk. 1: 17; Luke 6: 38; Jno. 21: 15–17.

Commit.—

"I love Thy Church, O God!
Her walls before Thee stand,
Dear as the apple of Thine eye
And graven on Thy hand.
For her my tears shall fall;
For her my prayers ascend;
To her my cares and toils be given,
Till toils and cares shall end."

41. When should I unite formally with the Church?

Preferably in my youth before I may be overtaken by the force of evil desire and that I may have the benefit of the uplifting influence of the Church in the formation of my character; also that I may enjoy the blessings of salvation and do the will of God throughout my whole life.

Lk. 2: 41–42; Mtt. 19: 14; Isa. 55: 6–7; Rev. 22: 17; Eccl. 12: 1.

Prayer.—Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; cleanse the thoughts of our minds, we beseech Thee, by the inspiration

of Thy Holy Spirit, that, being delivered from every unholy motion of the flesh and spirit, we may perfectly love Thee, with a pure heart and sanctified lips worship Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy name: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

42. What is further expected of me as a member of the Christian Church?

As a member I am expected to conform in doctrine and duty to the constitution, sacraments, rights and ceremonies of the denomination. It is also expected that I attend and take part in the services regularly and that as God has prospered me I contribute of my income for the support of the Church and for all its benevolences.

Psa. 1: 1–3; 107: 8; 1 Cor. 16: 1, 2.

Commit.—

"But drops of grief can ne'er repay
The debt of love I owe;
Here, Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do."

VI. Of the Life of the Spirit.

43. What is it to be filled with the Spirit?

It is to live a positive, godly and useful life, guided in all things by a holy, unselfish motive.

Jno. 4: 24; 6: 63; 14: 16–17; Gal. 5: 5.

Commit.—

"The night has a thousand eyes,
And the day but one;
Yet the light of the whole world dies
With the setting of the sun.
The mind has a thousand eyes,
And the heart but one;
But the light of a whole life dies
When love is done."

44. How may I know that I am filled with the Spirit?

By the development of such habits and character as are in harmony with what St. Paul says are the fruits of the Spirit, namely: Love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance.

Jno. 15: 13–14; 1 Jno. 3: 10, 18–19; 4: 12.

Study.—Make a comparative study of the fruits of the Spirit as here given and the qualities of love as given in 1 Cor. 13.

45. What are some of the fruits of a life that is not Spirit-filled but is impelled by selfish motives.

According to St. Paul they are: Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, hatred, wrath, strife, envyings, drunkenness, murders, revellings and such like.

Mtt. 25: 41–45; 5: 27–28; Jas. 1: 13–15; 1 Jno. 2: 15–17.

Study.—Note that the fruits of the Spirit are all positive and the others all negative. Compare the value of these two sets of qualities not only as they would affect the religious life, but also the social and vocational.

46. If I find in myself these selfish and negative tendencies how may I destroy them and obtain the corresponding positive fruits of the Spirit?

I can only truly correct weakness, vices, and all undesirable ends, by building up with the help of God, through definite study, prayer and decision, good habits, virtues and all desirable ends.

Mtt. 12: 33; Rom. 12: 21; 1 Jno. 5: 4.

Study.—Analyze your bodily and mental tendencies somewhat as follows:

BODILY.

Positive. (To be sought.)	Negative. (To be avoided.)
Health	Sickness.
Strong	Weak.
Clean	Unclean.
Neat	Untidy.

MENTAL.

Remember	Forget.
Attentive	Listless.
Reasonable	Unreasonable.
Good judgment	Poor judgment.
Educated	Ignorant.

Etc.

47. Name some additional Christlike qualities that I should seek to acquire.

As a Christian it becomes me to have for my body cleanliness, strength and vigorous health; also the mental and moral qualities of intelligence, industry, cheerfulness, sympathy, enthusiasm, honesty, courage, reverence, generosity, decision, perseverance and many such like.

Rom. 12: 1; Mtt. 8: 2–3; Jas. 1: 8; Jno. 5: 6, 14.

Study.—Continue the last study:

SOUL QUALITIES.

Faith	Doubt.
Hope	Despair.
Love	Hate, selfishness.
Cheerful	Gloomy.
Courage	Fear.
Reverent	Profane.
Worship	Ungodliness.

WILL QUALITIES.

Decision	Indecision.
Despatch	Procrastinate.
Persevere	Abandon.
Diligent	Slothful.

Etc.

48. How may I come more completely into possession of these desirable qualities?

I must not only desire and strive for the ends which I want to attain unto, but I must begin to think that I have them and that God will give them to me more fully as fast as I am worthy to receive them.

Prov. 23: 7; Mtt. 7: 7, 8; Mk. 11: 24; 1 Cor. 12: 31.

Study.—Try to learn something about the law of suggestion. But above everything else *pray earnestly* and without ceasing for every need and God, who heareth in secret, will reward you openly.

VII. OF PRAYER.

49. What is prayer?

Prayer is the development and the expression of that mental

and spiritual attitude whereby the soul of man reaches out after and is kept in touch with God.

Psa. 42 : 1; 84 : 2; 90 : 14; Jno. 17 : 20–21.

Commit.—

> "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
> Uttered or unexpressed;
> The motion of a hidden fire,
> That trembles within the breast."

50. How did Jesus teach his disciples to pray?

By his prayerful attitude and habit and teaching them to pray, saying: "Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

Mtt. 6 : 5–13; 14 : 23; 26 : 39; 26 : 41; Mk. 6 : 46.

Commit.—

> "More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of.
> Wherefore let thy voice
> Rise like a fountain for me night and day;
> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> That nourish a blind life within the brain
> If, knowing God, they lift not up hands in prayer,
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
> For so the whole round world is every way
> Bound with gold chains about the feet of God."

51. When shall I pray?

As a true child of my Father it is my privilege to be in such frame of mind and soul that I may at any time and in any place enter into communion and fellowship with Him. But beyond this I should set apart a time for faithful and regular morning and evening devotions.

1 Tim. 2 : 8; Mk. 1 : 35; Mtt. 26 : 36; 1 Th. 5 : 17.

Meditation.—Do I want my Father in heaven to understand and by his presence strengthen me as does my earthly father? Shall I not then make it my daily practice to speak to Him and commune with Him in prayer.

52. May I assist in obtaining an answer to my prayers?

Yes, by striving to be and become in my thoughts, desires and acts all that I ask in my prayers; also by increasing my faith in the nearness and helpfulness of God.

Mtt. 9: 29; Phil. 4: 19; 1 Jno. 5: 14.

Meditation.—Am I trying to live up to the standard of my highest and holiest aims?

Have I any right to claim God's blessing if I do less than I ought or can do?

Conclusion.

53. What shall I do if having striven, I am still overcome by the force of my temptations and fall?

Grasp the hand of God in prayer and determination, rise up, and go right on striving with renewed consecration, to do his will and to become fitted to enjoy his grace forever.

Lk. 15: 18–20; Mtt. 24: 13.

Meditations.—"Where there's a will there's a way."

"Unless above himself man can erect himself, how poor a thing is man."

"Our wills are ours, we know not how."

"Our wills are ours to make them thine."

54. What is it to enjoy the grace of God forever?

It is to have fought the good fight, finished the course and kept the faith in such manner that I may stand approved in the presence of almighty God.

Rev. 2: 10; Gen. 18: 25; 1 Cor. 15: 10; 2 Cor. 12: 9; Jno. 14: 2; 2 Tim. 4: 7–8.

Meditation.—

> "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

Riegelsville, Pa.

V.

PEDAGOGIC APPLICATIONS OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

W. WILBERFORCE DEATRICK.

Concerning the helpfulness of psychology to the teacher, secular or religious, there is difference of opinion. A noted psychologist was reported some years ago to have asserted that the study of psychology is of no benefit to teachers. The statement, if correctly reported, seems a strange one for a teacher of psychology to make. It is, certainly, contrary to the generally accepted notion. The assumption, on the part of most folks, has been that teachers should study psychology. By making this science one of the required branches in the curriculum of its normal schools and by recognizing its pursuit as one of the conditions for receiving a weekly stipend from the treasury of the commonwealth, the state of Pennsylvania is practically paying a bonus for the study of psychology by such as are preparing to teach in its public schools. Certainly it does not appear illogical to demand that teachers should know the learning child, should be cognizant of the phenomena and laws of functioning of the minds they train as well as be familiar with subject matter of instruction and with methods of instruction. However this may be, teachers, for years past, have been studying psychology, and have been listening to lectures, at institutes, on various phases of a subject which is supposed to be so essential to the pedagogue's success.

The net result of all this study and more or less interested listening is, nevertheless, it must be confessed, hardly equal to the expectation of authors and instructors on the one hand or of students and listeners on the other. One trouble has been, doubtless, that too much was expected by both parties from the

study of this science of the mind. That prince of psychologists and masterful teacher, lately passed away, Professor William James, in his splendid "Talks to Teachers on Psychology and Life's Ideals," warns teachers against expecting too much from the study of his favorite science. He says:

"I am not sure that you may not be indulging fancies that are just a shade exaggerated. That would not be altogether astonishing, for we have been having something like a 'boom' in psychology in this country. Laboratories and professorships have been founded, and reviews established. . . . The editors of educational journals and the arrangers of conventions have had to show themselves enterprising and on a level with the novelties of the day. Some of the professors have not been unwilling to cooperate, and I am not sure even that the publishers have been entirely inert. 'The new psychology' has thus become a term to conjure up portentous ideas withal; and you teachers, docile and receptive and aspiring as many of you are, have been plunged in an atmosphere of vague talk about our science, which to a great extent has been more mystifying than enlightening."

This reads as though the genial professor were indulging in humor or possibly felt the necessity of getting into the good graces of those to whom he was to deliver the series of lectures, for the book is made up of chapters which, originally, were lectures delivered to teachers in Cambridge, Mass. How much of positive benefit these teachers derived from Dr. James' lectures we have never heard.

Even hard and earnest study of a text-book has not always brought expected results. The school superintendent of a great city is reported to have said that his teachers had studied Sully's *Handbook of Psychology* so diligently and devotedly that he had no doubt that were every copy of that scientific classic destroyed, the book could be reproduced verbatim from the memory of these teachers, so thoroughly had they conned its contents. Nevertheless, so little evidence of its influence upon their teaching was manifest when he visited their schools,

that from their practise he might have been justified in doubting whether they had ever so much as heard of a science called psychology.

Yet, notwithstanding this playful warning of the Cambridge professor and the pessimistic utterance of the metropolitan superintendent, it must be remembered that, after his warning against false expectations, Dr. James proceeded with his lectures and put his talks into book form, most likely in the hope that his printed words might influence many more than his voice could reach, giving to the world one of the few volumes which are genuine literature as well as exceedingly sound, straight-forward science, a book which has been, most certainly, of exceeding helpfulness and inspiration to a multitude of earnest teachers. It may be noted, too, in this connection, that, lately, that other professor who was spoken above as decrying the usefulness of this science to the pedagogue, has turned about and has taught and lectured and written as though he were now firmly convinced that psychology *is* of value and of exceeding helpfulness to teachers.

We are compelled, then, to admit that, after all, the teacher should study psychology, that he ought to know the phenomena and laws of activity of mind and of the organs of mind. But his knowledge must not be mere acquaintance with facts and formulas of the science as given in books. Knowledge that is mere information is insufficient; the teacher, to profit from study of psychology, old or new, must go on to wisdom, which has been defined as "the right use of knowledge." The teacher must study psychology, must study it thoroughly, not to know what psychologists teach but to apply the principles of psychology, so far as they may be applied, to the work which he has to do, this supremely important work of developing immortal minds.

Teaching is, undeniably, a most important work. Rightly considered, it is far more important than any other work in which one can engage in service of his fellows, save possibly that of the Christian minister, and the work of the latter, we

must not forget, is largely that of teaching. One reason for this estimate of the educator's vocation is that the value, the capabilities, of the material on which teachers work far transcends that of the material wrought upon by any other workers. Some work in clay, others in wood or stone or metal, and from these raw materials elaborate vessels and articles of great utility or of transcendent delicacy and grace. But the material upon which teachers labor is stuff far more precious than any of these, even as the products of the effort may be of infinitely greater beauty and excellence.

The most wonderful, the most delicate of all things in the material universe, so far as we know the same, upon which as unformed stuff the skill of workers may be employed is the plastic, highly organized brain of a little child. And to the mind, of which that brain is but the physical, perishable organ, considered as material upon which to bestow labor that may be most truly profitable as well as most richly compensative, how incomparable, how insignificant, are the costliest, the most highly prized of the materials upon which those who are known as artists bestow their labor! What are canvas and pigments, clay or marble or granite, what are even silver and gold and gems, compared to brain and mind as stuff whereon to exercize one's abilities as artificer? Men call him an artist who realizes in an unusual measure the capabilities of materials such as have been enumerated, shall we not esteem as artists also those who skilfully teach children, who by wisely directed culture devlop to the utmost of efficiency the native capabilities of brain and mind? Such a teacher is, assuredly, a greater artist than the architect who works in granite or the sculptor who casts his ideals in bronze, greater than the painter who mixes colors marvelously and paints his pictures on cathedral walls, greater than artists in words, poets or orators, greater, moreover, than artists in sounds melodious, singers or skilful players on instruments of music which ingenious sons of Jubal have fashioned for the delectation of human ears. There are many delicate instruments on which

none but most skilful artists may attempt performance, but no instrument of man's contrivance is in any way comparable in complexity and in delicacy to the instruments, the brains and the minds of children, on which teachers play. Yet how few know their instruments other than most imperfectly. Surely, if we teachers would realize our responsibility and our opportunity we would be readier than most of us are to learn the utmost that may be known of the raw material of our art, the instruments on which we essay performance, the most wonderful stuff for the worker in all of God's wonderful creation—the brain and the regnant mind of a boy or a girl. And psychology, especially the new psychology, may help greatly to give teachers the knowledge needed to enable them to become the greatest artists in the world.

A noted educator, addressing a body of Pennsylvania teachers, once remarked that recent successive centuries have each given to the world the master artist in one or another of the fine arts. One century gave the master poet, another the master painter, or sculptor, or architect, and yet another, the last one, the master musician. To this assertion he added a second, that signs were to be noted which led him to hope that this twentieth century is destined to produce the greatest artist of them all, the master artist-teacher. May his hopes be realized! If the art of teaching is to prove the supreme art in this century then teachers, the same as other artists, must study diligently, study their art, its technique and its materials, in order to realize the sublimest results from the use and manipulation of the material ready to their hands. And in such study, without a doubt, they shall find psychology, the new psychology, of inestimable benefit.

What is psychology and what is the new psychology? Psychology is the science of mind. Psychology is the science of the phenomena of consciousness. The new psychology may be defined as the science of mind developing in, or associated with, a living, developing, wonderfully complex, marvellously organized, and admirably adapted organ or instrument of mind.

How does it differ from the old psychology? In some respects the difference is inconsiderable but in other ways the two differ materially. The new psychology is, indeed, in one sense only the old studied in a new way, viewed from a new standpoint, supplemented by and materially affected by knowledge of closely related things. Psychology, as studied now-a-days, is not merely introspective, philosophic discourse on consciousness, the closely circumscribed "mental philosophy" of the olden time. Now, to know psychology, one must know not only a little but much of what was formerly thought to be remotely, if at all, connected with the science of mind. The new psychology is biological, physiological, experimental, comparative, and genetic or evolutionary, as well as merely rational and introspective. Now, to know mind, one must study many other things—biology, physiology, anthropology, philology, and other branches of science once deemed quite unrelated to knowledge of mind. Yet all this is not altogether new, for sixty years ago the learned Dr. F. A. Rauch, first president of Marshall College, issued his book, *Anthropology and Psychology,* which, as one reads it now, is seen to be, in many respects, based upon this modern conception of the propriety of studying mind in its relation to other things in the cosmos, especially to those with which it is most intimately related, as is indeed clearly set forth in the author's preface to the volume.

In our study of psychology as the science of mental life we must remember that our mental life, at least in this state of existence, is so bound up with our bodily life that, as we see now and as Dr. Rauch pointed out so long ago, the one cannot be properly or fully understood without exact knowledge of the other. One of America's most noted psychologists, a teacher most stimulating, most helpful to other teachers, tells how years ago he went to Germany to continue his study of human mind. Arriving at his destination and making his desires known to the master he had chosen, he was surprised to be told to study the muscles of a frog's leg. Protesting that he had come to study psychology and not anatomy or biology, he was answered

by a repetition of the command. Then, considering it to be the part of wisdom to follow the directions of one's teacher, he applied himself to diligent study of the preparation under the microscope. Studying it, and other muscles, for days and weeks, even months, he rose at last from the microscope satisfied with the result, for he tells us: "I know, as the result of that study, more of muscle, and of mind, and of God, than I had hoped ever to know."

The scalpel and the microscope, the esthesiometer, the microphone, the ergograph, the plethysmograph, the chronograph, and other instruments of precision are necessary implements of the professional psychologist of to-day. The psychologist of the laboratory as well as his brother of the study has many a message of helpfulness and of cheer to the weary, burdened, and yet earnest and aspiring worker in the school. But that the latter may receive the message of the former there must be, in most cases, middlemen in the form of books and instructors. Of these middlemen, there are now-a-days, fortunately or unfortunately, not a few, of which some are excellent but some, alas, are not so good.

There are books and instructors attempting to set forth the new psychology that are far from being a real help to the inquiring teacher. Some of these over-emphasize the physiological, the material side, some are setters-forth of a "psychology without a soul." Some, undertaking to translate the language of the laboratory into that of the teacher unversed in scientific lore or the details of experimentation, make a sorry mess of their undertaking. The deliverances of authors and lecturers are diverse. What one affirms another denies, what one commends another condemns. How is the uncritical teacher to distinguish between the one and the other, how determine which is to be accepted as the reliable, authoritative pronouncement on mind and how to deal with it? Books on methods of teaching claim to base their conclusions on psychologic truth and yet the methods inculcated are often as diverse as is the personality of one author from that of another. How

is the bewildered teacher, confronted with contradictory advice, to distinguish between the bad and the good, the false and the true? Why not give up the study of methods and of psychology altogether and learn how to teach by experience, trusting to intuition and to observation of others who succeed until experience has shown the excellent way?

Nevertheless there is a better way than tedious experimentation. In one of his thoughtful little books on matters educational, Bishop Spalding has pithily formulated a statement of the relation of methodology and the sciences upon which it is dependent. By this fomula pedagogy and phychology may be tested. "Biology interprets the problems of psychology and psychology provides methods for pedagogy." The teacher dismayed by the multiplicity of suggested methods, bewildered by the contradictory claims for one or another procedure in teaching, may avoid much fruitless experimentation, may stand unmoved by varying winds of doctrine, if he will but test diverse claims by this simple formula of the distinguished prelate.

What is the meaning of this formula or dictum? It is this. No method is excellent, or even good, which seeks to develop mind contrary to any discovered law of structure, organization, or functioning of the wonderful material organ of the mind; no process of education can be deemed legitimate or worth experimenting with which is in plain violation of known facts of structure and natural mode of activity of brain or any organ of the body which serves directly as the instrument of mind. Biology is the science which gives knowledge of the phenomena and the laws of development and functioning of the bodily organs of the soul, and by this knowledge the psychologist must test his psychology and the teacher may judge of the propriety and value of his methods.

Space is lacking to go into details or into extended enumeration of the numerous ways in which the new psychology, interpreted by biology, provides, without need of wasteful experimentation, methods for the artist teacher. For this a volume

would scarcely be sufficient. Years ago at a round table conference at a meeting of the National Educational Association the question: "What has physiological psychology accomplished for education?" was discussed. The discussion was disappointing. There was little demonstration of any accomplishment. Whether that was because the new psychology was then so very new or because of lack of information on part of the scholars who undertook the discussion is uncertain. However that may be, there can be no question now as to the great indebtedness of the pedagogy of the present to the new psychology, which is not only physiological but much besides. In recent years interest has steadily grown and now when scholars who have made it their life work to investigate the phenomena of mental life and its physical correlate or substrate and to formulate the laws of the same appear before the assembled teachers of the land, their exposition of their discoveries is listened to with breathless attention by hundreds of earnest teachers who are fully convinced that psychology has numerous and most valuable applications to practical work in schools.

Much remains to be discovered but much has already been established. On some problems of the teacher great light has been cast. His way in many places has been made clearer, the proper method of procedure has been indicated for him. In spite of the fact that, as progress has been made, new difficulties have arisen and new problems opened up, and notwithstanding that very much is yet uncertain, nevertheless very considerable advance has been made in knowledge of facts and laws of the psycho-physical organism which is of real practical benefit to teachers.

Prominent among the discoveries or demonstrations contributing to this advance is the new conception, long combated but now conceded by practically all neurologists, of the structure and organization of the nervous system, the brain and spinal cord, the sense and motor organs, all immediate instruments of mind, in regard to which physical substrate, even the few years ago when most of us were in school, the utmost ignor-

ance prevailed. Now we know, a thing of essential importance in education, that the nervous system is far more complex than it was supposed to be, that it is made up of multitudinous, separate elements, neurons they are called (nine billions of them, on an average, in the brain and some four billions more in the rest of the body), as distinct anatomically and structurally from one another as are the trees in a forest. We know, too, that each of these has its separate function, and that each becomes, or is susceptible of becoming, "organized" with other elements. We have learned, further, that the number differs in different individuals. Some children are born "short," as William Hawley Smith describes those children who are natively deficient or defective. Others may be said to be born long. They are abnormal in that they have an unusually large native equipment of neuroblasts, cells capable of developing into functioning neurons. These items of knowledge, if there were no others, should be sufficient to convince school folks of the futility of attempting to make the school a procustean bed for pupils of diverse intellectual stature.

It has been demonstrated, further, that no amount of educative drill can increase the quantity of the equipment. Other cells of the body can be made, through wisely directed exercise, to increase by multiplication, but the number of these "most noble cells," the most direct instruments of the mind, cannot be increased by any manner of exercize or training, while, recently, it has been demonstrated to a practical certainty, that the general native quality of endowment is, likewise, not susceptible of improvement. On the other hand, it has been discovered that because of lack of wisely directed exercize or by reason of neglect of use or of timely stimulation, many neuroblasts may fail of development or, having matured, may become atrophied and die because of injury, or improper exercize, or as a result of disuse.

All this seems fatalistic, but it is not truly so, as we may see. If this were all the truth there would be merely greater responsibility laid on the teacher to discover, if possible, how

not to allow such atrophy, such marring of the wonderful instrument of mind by inexpert manipulation of it, how not to permit diminution of precious endowment. But there is a brighter side. If educative processes are ineffective to effect, except injuriously, native equipment as to number and quality of the neurons, it is clearly established that education may have almost unlimited influence, for bad or good, on the development and organization of the noblest cells with the growth, development, and functioning of which the mind is so intimately connected. It is certain, from what is now known of brain and nerves, that it is possible for school and teacher to take a boy "born short" and so develop and organize his brain by wisely directed educative processes that the utmost of the possibilities of his being are realized, to such an extent, indeed, that he may even surpass his originally more fortunate brother who, though having superior endowment, has failed to realize the potentialities of that possession. The full truth is, then, that education cannot influence, at least not beneficially, native endowment of nerve and brain and mind, but it can affect infinitely, both for bad and good, the development and the organization of nerve and brain and mind.

The applications of this and other truths are far-reaching in their consequences. Speaking several years ago of recently demonstrated truths as to the structure and organization of the nervous system, at an international gathering of scientists, one of the greatest of living physiologists, one of the foremost medical men of the times, declared that the new knowledge is destined within twenty-five years to revolutionize the entire system and practise of medicine. The accuracy of his prophecy is already apparent. Great as is the effect of the discoveries referred to upon medical system and practise, their influence must not be less potent to change materially much that is currently accepted as reliable psychology and authoritative pedagogy at the present time. The effect upon the teacher's art as well as upon his science, will, or should be, soon apparent.

It is difficult in the limits of available space to discuss the numerous and significant implications which are suggested at this point. Taken as but one of many, this thing called "organization," the formation of "tracts" and groups of neurons working together as organs of mind for the performance of one or another of the mental functions, is a matter very greatly under the control of the educator. If, however, he would be an artist in brains and minds, the teacher must learn as much as he can of the phenomena and laws of cerebral organization. Unless he has accurate knowledge he will be but a blundering bungler: he will mar rather than mend his precious material. When the phenomena of organization are understood and the laws of the same are comprehended it becomes apparent that much pedagogic practise is in direct violation of these laws of development and functioning. A noted educationist once wrote an article on "The Artificial Production of Stupidity in the Schools." He was not in error as to his main contention. The new psychology lets us know wherein the blundering complained of consists.

One law of organization and of functioning is: "First the fundamental, then the accessory." First to be developed, to be organized, are the tracts which the mind needs to do fundamental, at-first-most-necessary things. Later are developed, organized, the tracts which the mind uses for its higher, more particular, and discriminating activities. Organization and accompanying movements are first massive, later finer and more varied. Recognition of this truth has already greatly changed the character of the kindergarten occupations, nevertheless it must be affirmed that very much of the practise in the schools has been, at least until very lately, in direct contravention of this law.

At birth, except for the parts of the nervous system necessary for the performance of vital and vegetative functions, there is little organization. But soon the organization for higher functions begins and by the time the child reaches the school the organization for many activities has advanced very consider-

ably. During the schooling period the teacher should keep in mind another law, and before the child is sent to the teacher parents should be informed of the law, lest irreparable damage be unwittingly done to the instrument of mind and to mind itself. The law now referred to is: "Natural organization must not be interfered with unless that organization is known to be perniciously abnormal." A noted neurologist, one who has examined possibly more thousands of school children than any other student of child life, was only stating this law in less technical and so more easily understood phraseology when he warned parents and teachers of imminent danger in these significant words: "Do not stop a child's movements unless you know why you do so." The necessity for warning those who have the care of children not to interfere with spontaneous movements unless there are good reasons for such interference is evident when one considers how constantly children are repressed, how often without reason other than the convenience, whim, or untested theory of parent or teacher, they are forbidden to do one or another thing, innocent in itself, which their developing organization impels them to attempt.

Many illustrations of harm affected by such ignorant, meddlesome interference with natural impulses might be given. One is ventured upon as an example of the many. A considerable number of children are born lefthanded. Now the common notion, quite unwarranted in fact, as has been clearly shown by thoughtful students of the subject as Wilson, Warner, Cattell, J. Mark Baldwin, and, latest of all, Dr. George M. Gould (in his excellent and exhaustive book *Righthandedness and Lefthandedness*), is that lefthandedness is a defect, an abnormality, to be regretted and so to be corrected. Fashion, not reason, is against using the left hand for certain activities, particularly that of writing. So when the child begins to write and doing so uses his left hand, the teacher thinks it is incumbent on him to prevent this dreadful (?) thing. Indeed it is not unlikely that many a child has been "broken" of lefthandedness by parents, ignorant of the seriousness of what

they were doing, before he left the home for the school. But it is a serious error to attempt to make a lefthanded child righthanded whether in school or earlier in life. It is interfering with action without sufficient knowledge or reason. It is destroying organization already well advanced, as is now clearly understood and taught by competent neurologists and alienists.

One of the discoveries of comparatively recent times is that the cerebral organ of speech is located in the left hemisphere of the brain in righthanded persons. The converse of this, that the speech area in lefthanded individuals is in the right hemisphere, while not absolutely proved, has greatly preponderating evidence in its favor. Why this should be so no one can tell, but that it is so few now dispute. The organization of brain in a lefthanded child is different from that in a righthanded one. To make a naturally lefthanded child, especially one who has begun to speak, righthanded in practise, particularly in writing, which has to do with words, is to break up organization already established and to stimulate new and unnatural organization. Such substitution can be made, with more or less of difficulty both to erring parent or teacher and to youthful victim, but it is a substitution which is unnecessary and one accompanied with serious cerebral and mental injury. It should never be attempted, never at least until it has been determined beyond doubt that the lefthandedness is not congenital but, as sometimes happens, is acquired.

Lest the foregoing positive assertion be considered as merely the dictum of one unqualified, perchance, to speak, it may be advisable to quote the utterances of one who certainly has a right to be listened to.

"Let the lefthanded child alone! Nature is quite as wise as the ignorant intermeddlers. . . . To will and compel righthandedness in the naturally lefthanded is a crime. . . . In every case [of transfer of task to the opposite organs] there is a crippling, and a lessening of productive capacity, a disadvantaging in the struggle. . . . Whenever a center or con-

gress of centers is developed in one half-brain, disuse and transfer to the other half is, according to age, either impossible, faulty, handicapping, or disease-producing. . . . *Let no one attempt it.* Pathology follows almost inevitably any interference with Nature's institution of handedness, right or left, however early it may have begun" (Gould, *Righthandedness and Lefthandedness,* pp. 39, 44, 52, 90, 110).

There are some who have advocated the development of ambidexterity, especially in case of those naturally lefthanded. Consulted as to this suggestion an eminent psychologist, whom no one could accuse of materialism, the late lamented Commissioner of Education of the United States, Dr. William Torrey Harris, strongly advised against the attempt. Dr. Gould is even more emphatic. He says (in the volume above quoted, pp. 101, 124, 185):

"'Ambidexterity'-mongering is the most absurd silliness. . . . The 'ambidextral' societies, the mothers and school teachers, who would martyrize children naturally lefthanded by compelling them to learn an equal expertness of the right hand, are the most blunderful of stupid persons. . . . There never was an ambidextrous person, but there has been produced much misery by the foolish attempt to create ambidexterity."

For details as to the danger and the frequently resultant disease arising from disarrangement of cerebral organization, the interested reader must be referred to the thought-provoking little volume of the last quoted author.

This one very common instance of violation of a pedagogic-psychologic-biologic law has been dwelt on thus at length to illustrate how the new psychology may be of very practical assistance to the artist teacher. The one instance, however, is merely a type of many. Even to enumerate the contributions of this sort made by the new psychology to pedagogy would require much more time and space than is here available. "*Ab uno disce omnes,*" as Vergil wrote.

Biologic facts and laws should be known and kept in mind by teachers. The best results are always attained by taking

nature into partnership; the fullest success is gained when nature's forces working normally are invoked. That is the meaning of Emerson's phrase, "Hitch your wagon to a star." Seeking to teach with these facts and laws constantly in mind, teachers will be "working together" with God, if we apply in this connection, as we think we may, the thought of St. Paul.

Dr. James, in the volume earlier quoted, says: "*The great thing in education is to make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy.*" This is not only good biology and good pedagogy but also good theology, for St. Paul (I. Cor. 15: 46) says: "Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual." The brain and the mind grow into the modes in which they are exercized. The primary object of discipline in the family and in the school, should be to help children gain control of mind and soul through control of body, to attain to mastery of the self through mastery of the body. Our processes of education must not be contrary to the laws of developing child life. As teachers we may, and should, study these laws, familiarize ourselves with the operation of the forces of nature working normally. Then, and then only, shall we be able most truly to aid our pupils in the accomplishment of the most important thing—formation of right character. Then, moreover, when brain and brawn shall have subserved their present purpose, the soul, having "learned itself" (Tennyson in "In Memoriam"), shall enter fully prepared into life, that other fuller, freer, higher life, in which, as the poet Browning suggests ("Christmas Eve and Easter Day"), it may come perchance into possession of a

> "Brow
> With its new palace-brain where dwells
> Superb the soul, unvext by cells
> That crumbled with the transient clay!"

Keystone State Normal School,
Kutztown, Pa.,
December 8, 1910.

VI.

THE DEACONESS AND THE TRAINED NURSE.[1]

A careful distinction of the meaning of each of these terms is necessary in order to realize their difference. As regards the first we adopt the language of Rector Jordan, of Halle, when he says: "A Deaconess is a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ and His Church; one who is free from all other obligations, willing and able to devote all her time and her strength, in the power of faith and love, to Jesus Christ and her fellow-men."

She realizes it as her mission through her modest and quiet life devoted to good works, to serve Him who has redeemed her.

In our definition of the other word, that of the trained nurse, we adopt the language of a distinguished surgeon when he says: "The most important matter in the nursing of the sick is to have a sufficient number of well qualified nurses who will carry out the directions of the physician, who will look to him and to him only, as their leader and adviser."

Florence Nightengale, whose lofty ideal of the nursing of the sick no one will call into question, answered the question, "What is accomplishment?" in these words: "Accomplishment is to teach a nurse to help the patient back to life."

Both views considered from their own standpoint are right.

Of a deaconess as a trained nurse both characteristics must be present; while a professonal nurse lays no claim to the characteristics of the deaconess.

The deaconess possesses a biblical office, an office in the congregation; the trained nurse has only an ordinary calling.

[1] This article appeared in the Bethesda *Diakonissen Freund* of Cleveland, Ohio, for February and March, 1903. Rev. A. B. Koplin, D.D., of Hellertown, Pa., translated and read it before the North Penn Ministerial Association, October 17, 1910.

The former is prompted by love, the latter works for a living. In the first we see a service of love towards all men, in the second a daily service and unquestioning obedience to the physician and the surgeon.

The deaconess nurses the body that she may win the soul. Her work has to do with eternity. The trained nurse, like the professional man, is contented when her work is done, her wages earned.

The deaconess' office is as old as the Christian Church. The calling of the trained nurse is the product of the last sixty years and is only a part of the work of the deaconess.

It is not necessary here to repeat the historical facts which led to the introduction and recognition of the deaconess as an ecclesiastical office, but rather the development of "deaconess work," in the first centuries, its discontinuance in later periods, and its restoration in modern times.

History teems with those who consecrated their possessions and their strength to the service of the Church; and among the martyrs appear the names of many deaconesses who valued their own lives but little, and willingly offered themselves at the martyr's stake, out of pure love for suffering humanity.

Among the leading works of Christian charity, that of caring for the sick, occupies the first rank. As far back as 385 of the Christian era, there were hospitals for the sick, and among the poor and forsaken, the nursing of the leprous and the incurables, called for hard service, untiring endurance and self-sacrifice in the first congregations and members of the Church. It was an emulation of Christian sympathy through which the Church might manifest her love to Christ in no way more beautifully.

The paid trained nurse is, as we have seen, a physician's assistant of modern date.

In the Administration Building of New York Hospital appears the portrait of Dr. Valentine Leaman, with this inscription: "In the year 1798 he organized in this hospital the first regular training school for nurses of the sick; out of which

other schools have grown, which carry with them their blessing over the entire land." This was thirty years before Elizabeth Fry began to give instructions on the nursing of the sick in Guy's Hospital in London, and thirty-eight years before Rev. Fledeners' "Mother's House" and Deaconess Hospital in Keiserworth opened its doors.

Be this as it may, the English Periodical *Hospital* concedes that to the principles of Rev. Fledeners and his training school for deaconesses must be given the distinguished honor of the achievement of a new and noble work; but that the rapid increase of deaconesses and their spread must, without doubt, be accorded to the example of Florence Nightengale.

Although it must be conceded that since 1860, the opening of Florence Nightengale's Home in connection with St. Thomas Hospital in London, the work of the trained nurse increased greatly, yet it remains true that Elizabeth Fry, who in 1840, through the advice of Dr. Gooch and Robert Tonthey, who were so favorably impressed by a visit to Florence Nightengale's Mother House in London, where both Florence Nightengale and many other pioneer nurses had received their training, founded the first training school in Asneburg Square.

It was in the year 1848 that Bloomfield, Bishop of London, founded St. John's House as a purely religious institution for the training of poor sisters.

In the year 1878 sister Helena founded a training school in the United States in modern Bellevue Hospital in New York City.

In 1884 Miss Florence Fisher withdrew from the Nightengale School and came to Philadelphia and founded a training school in the Blockley Buildings. Through the disciples of Miss Florence Fisher her teachings have spread over the entire land. The large training schools of the East are the fruit of what had gone before—Blackwell's Island, in 1875; Mt. Lincie, in 1881; German Hospital, in 1885; St. Luke's, 1888; the Presbyterian and the St. Vincent, in 1892, and Roosevelt, in 1896.

Historically considered the evolution of the modern nurse must be accredited to Keiserworth. The professional nurse must trace her origin back to the Christian Ideal Deaconess Mother House, or the ecclesiastical sisterhood of Keiserworth.

The triennial report of the Keiserworth General Conference of the various "mother houses" sets forth great results as proof of the distinguished works of mercy of more than 13,500 deaconesses.

There is indeed no form of human suffering which is not benefited by their ministrations. The sick of every kind, the epileptic, the leper, the erring, the forsaken and the homeless children, the prisoner, the orphan and a great host of other unfortunates, besides thousands of all classes receive the blessing of loving hearts, cheerful countenances and helping hands. These deaconess sisters are welcomed in every land. Everywhere their work wins favorable recognition and support.

The deaconess is, as we have seen, not necessarily a nurse of the sick. In fact, there are many who have not been educated and trained for that work, neither will they ever become active and professional nurses. Yet, whether a trained nurse or not, she is nevertheless a deaconess.

To be reasonably well trained in the art of nursing the sick, as is commonly the case, will add all the more to her efficiency as a deaconess. All ordinary and extraordinary qualifications are useful in her calling because the calls upon deaconesses are as varied in their character as the distinctive characteristics of each deaconess can be.

And indeed, one of the redeeming features of this calling consists in the fact that a monotony of service may be avoided by the widening of the field of activity, and calling into requisition the various talents of the deaconess, as much and as often as occasion offers. To find the proper field for each sister, and the right sister for each peculiar field of usefulness is one of the most difficult tasks of the deaconess house.

With their wide and inviting field of usefulness in the works of mercy that of the professional nurse is in broad contrast.

For the professional nurse the hospital and the sick room are her only home and place of service.

If she is qualified for her work all is well and good. If these are in any degree wanting, her mission in life is crippled. All success in her work must be but temporary. The care of the sick is a severe tax upon the nurse, and very often her solicitude, when she is not employed, is more trying than her work. Waiting for a call for service has brought many a nurse well nigh to despondency. However desirable her calling may appear from without, and however enticing her remuneration may be yet her calling is not as glittering in fact as it would appear. The mission of the trained nurse is a work which belongs to the strength and buoyancy of youth. What follows when these years have passed away, and strength fails and old age comes on?

With the deaconess it is otherwise, for while she receives no remuneration for her work, and is active in her calling to the full extent of her ability, she is free from all solicitude regarding her future. Viewed in this light the calling of the trained nurse is disheartening, dreary and pitiful.

Far be it from us to ignore the office of the trained nurse, or discourage her in her work. By no means. Hers is a high and cherished calling. In the beautiful language of Florence Nightingale, which has so often inspired the professional nurse with devotion and a spirit of self sacrifice, we would say: "Nursing is an art, and in order to make it such a full consecration, which demands as much preparation as any painter's or sculptor's work, is necessary. As these have to do with lifeless stuff or cold mortar. She is called to minister to living bodies fashioned after the image of God. The nursing of the sick is one of the finest of the fine arts; yea, we might say: The choicest of the fine arts."

It may be be said of many a professional nurse that her work bears witness to the truth of these words; but when we listen to the words of warning spoken at the commencements of the schools and note the utterances of the daily press, it can not

but be admitted that the nurse and her work are threatened with great danger. Self-interest and craving for high wages, the courting of the rich and the neglect of the poor, satisfaction with a spirit of the world instead of Christian integrity, which is so often found to be the case, prevent the forces of her cherished womanhood to have full sway and at the same time weaken and rob the nurse of her moral strength which she so much needs to make her a useful member of society and a confessor of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

A broad distinction between the deaconess and the professional nurse lies in the fact that the latter stands alone, while the former belongs to an organization. It may be that the want of a proper recognition of the system of deaconesses in its best form is the cause of the slow growth of the deaconess sisterhood in this country.

The distinction between the deaconess and the professional nurse is self-evident. When true to their high ideal, the schools for the training of nurses, prepare "workers" instead of co-"workers." Her life may bear witness of noble consecration, and may abound in works of love and devotion to humankind; but that work is limited to, and ends with her own person. This exclusiveness and loneliness of the professional nurse cannot well be concealed. Robert W. Taylor in his address to a graduating class in a New York training school said: "With your diplomas you enter an important sphere; perhaps the most important sphere of your life. From this time on you must fight life's battles, and you must fight alone, and that without any outside help. You will stand or fall as the result of the manner in which you will demean yourselves in the performance of the duties of your weighty calling. As scholars you were sheltered by the protecting arms of this large institute; but this is now at an end."

It is true that efforts are being made to unite the training schools, and to pension disabled nurses, and England has a fund entitled the "Royal National Fund for Nurses," with a capital of $250,000, together with an annual income of $31,000. Yet

all in all the efforts in this laudable work have thus far been without encouraging results. The emulation of the schools, the self interest of the nurse, together with the fact that nursing only too often turns out to be only a temporary employment and a stepping stone to something better, has kept the profession unorganized, and thus leaves each one to stand alone.

Each nurse seeks to look out well for the present, while she closes her eyes to the prospect of the future, which, alas! too often threatens nothing better than a humiliating dependence, or an old age which must be endured in obscurity and without due recognition and regard.

When, on the other hand, a young lady enters a deaconess house, and thus becomes separated from the parental roof, she enters a household which ever becomes to her more satisfactory and more dear. In the midst of those who are of like mind with herself she is never left alone. The strength born of this fellowship is everywhere and always her strength. The "mother house" is the home of the sisters. This must be so from the very nature of things.

A stranger once asked a deaconess: "Where is your home?" "I have no home beside the mother house" was her answer. She spoke the truth, for she was an orphan. This condition will sooner or later come to all. Parents go to their reward, and brothers and sisters become separated, and the "old home" is forever broken up, but the "mother house" ever has open doors for the sisterhood of deaconess. Here is her home in sickness and in health; and when tired of her work in private nursing or wearied and worn from the service of an entire year, she wends her way to the "mother house" where the doors are ever open, and where she is ever welcomed, cared for and loved.

It is her home where she lived and labored, and helped in her youthful and better days, and where she now, in the evening of her days, abides without consuming care, and peacefully awaits her summons to the heavenly home. This fellowship or sisterhood is not limited to the "mother house" to

which she belongs. Rather she belongs to a union which embraces all "mother houses," and this fact makes each individual deaconess feel that she is a part, even though it may be ever so humble, of a great army. She knows that she is not forgotten, and that when far away from her own sisterhood, she is everywhere recognized and sheltered in the same spirit of Christian love by the deaconess in Germany, in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Alexandria and indeed throughout the entire Christian world, as she is in the "mother house" to which she distinctively belongs.

The bond which unites the deaconess is not broken by country, descent or language. They are one in their office and occupation, effort and work; one in receiving and giving; one in their faith in Christ, who has redeemed them, whom they seek to serve in thankfulness and love.

What exalted characteristics distinguish the office and work of the deaconess from those of the professional nurse?

VII.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

The theory of a social compact as the historic basis of civil society and the moral justification of civil government was not original with Rousseau. Its essential features were largely borrowed by him from earlier writers. The later Greek philosophy was more or less familiar with it. Traces of it may be found in Plato's *Crito* and *Republic;* and it goes back at least as far as the Sophists. It was likewise a familiar conception to Roman jurisprudence; for the Roman jurists universally rested the power of the Emperor either upon an original explicit or subsequent implicit consent of the populace. It was mainly through the study of Roman jurisprudence that the theory of the social compact was introduced into the political thinking of medieval and modern Europe.

Supplementing Roman jurisprudence there were at least two other influences which deserve to be mentioned. The one was feudalism. According to Sir Henry Maine the feudal system was completely saturated with ideas of contract. "The earliest feudal communities," he says, "were neither bound together by mere sentiment nor recruited by a fiction. The tie which united them was a contract, and they obtained new associates by contracting with them. The relation of the lord to the vassals had originally been settled by express engagement, and a person wishing to engraft himself in the brotherhood by commendation or infeudation came to a distinct understanding as to the conditions on which he was to be admitted. It is, therefore, the sphere occupied in them by contract which principally distinguishes the feudal institutions from the unadulterated usages of primitive races. The

lord had many of the characteristics of a patriarchal chieftain; but his prerogative was limited by a variety of settled customs traceable to the express conditions which had been agreed upon when the infeudation took place."

The other influence which favored the development of contract ideas was the medieval Church. The early Church had held the doctrine that civil government was the outcome of sin and that it was the duty, therefore, of the Christian to submit to the rule of temporal princes as a part of his abnegation of self. But during the Middle Ages, owing to the controversy over the rival claims of the Empire and the Papacy, the Church set up a new theory. To bolster up the claims of the Papacy and limit the authority of the secular rulers the later medieval theologians laid down the principle that all kings and princes, including the Emperor, held their offices under God's sanction by reason of a covenant with the people; and as an instance of such a covenant they pointed to the one entered into by King David with the Elders of Israel. To the necessities of the medieval Papacy, therefore, combined with the essential principle of feudalism, the speculations of Greek philosophy, and the dicta of Roman jurisprudence, must be credited the rise of the doctrine of contract in medieval Europe.

But it was a special form of the compact theory which was thus introduced into medieval thought. It postulated a compact, not between the members of a particular community, but between the people on the one side and a king on the other. To this form of compact the name of governmental compact has been given, to distinguish it from that other compact which is specifically known as the social compact. A sharp distinction needs to be made between these two compacts. They differ fundamentally in scope and character. While the governmental compact is an agreement between rulers and subjects, according to which the power to rule over a community is by the members of that community formally vested in a particular person or group of persons, the social compact

is an agreement between the members of a community, by virtue of which a body politic is created out of an unorganized aggregate of men. The effect of the social compact is to create the state. The effect of the governmental compact is to set up and legitimize a particular government, after the state has been called into being.

The governmental compact is much the older theory. It is the one which was familiar to Greek philosophy and Roman jurisprudence, which ramified through the whole of the feudal system, and which was set up by the medieval Church in its conflict with the civil power. But the theory is something more than a piece of metaphysical speculation; it is also an historical fact. The covenant between King David and the Elders of Israel was such a compact. Another instance is afforded by the former kingdom of Arragon, where, when the nobles elected a king, they employed the following formula: "We, who are as good as you, choose you for our king and lord, provided that you observe our laws and privileges; and if not, not." The theory of the governmental compact is frequently in evidence in the medieval contests over investitures; and the history of Germany affords numerous instances of compacts between the several estates. That the governmental compact has been something more than a mere theory, even in the eyes of kings, may be seen from the speech of James I of England to Parliment in 1609. "Every just king in a settled kingdom," he declared, "is bound to observe that paction made to his people by his laws in framing his government agreeable thereunto." In 1688 we have another clear recognition of the theory of the governmental compact, this time on the part of the people, in the declaration of the Convention-Parliament to the effect that James II, "having endeavored to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people," had rendered the throne vacant. A final instance of governmental compact, and one which is frequently cited, is the famous Mayflower covenant which was unquestionably a governmental compact, although

a literal interpretation of its language might seem to point to a social compact.

An historical examination of the theory of the governmental compact will show that it has not always been held in the same way. While its advocates are agreed among themselves in postulating an original sovereign capacity on the part of the people, they differ with respect to the particular manner in which this sovereign power was transferred from people to rulers. On this point two schools have arisen. The one has held that the surrender by the people of their sovereign power was complete, involving a total and irrevocable alienation of their political rights. This was the view taken by the Roman jurists, by Suarez and other Jesuit writers, and later by Grotius the father of modern international law. The other school maintained on the contrary that the surrender was only a limited delegation of power, that this power was to be used by the rulers only for the specific purpose for which it was granted, and that it was subject to recall if abused.

But whether the theory of a governmental compact was held in an absolutist or a non-absolutist sense, its fundamental principle was its concession to the people of an original sovereign power. Even the most extreme absolutists among its exponents were compelled to admit this. For it is clear that a community must first possess what it is conceived as granting away. Furthermore, such a surrender of power as is postulated by the theory of the governmental compact cannot be conceived as being performed by a loose aggregation of persons without form or organization. There must be first a community acting in a corporate capacity. Hence the theory of the governmental compact logically requires the existence of a body politic as distinguished from an arithmetical sum of persons. It thus became necessary to account for the particular process by which a loose aggregation of men was transformed into a body politic. The result was the theory of the social compact.

The original significance of the theory of the social compact

was two-fold. It not only recognized in the social compact a prerequisite to the governmental compact, but it also offered a plausible explanation of the origin and meaning of civil society at a time when medieval beliefs and modes of thought were declining, and when men were becoming conscious of some other justification of the authority of the state than that afforded by ideas of feudal tenure or the explanations of medieval theology. Down to the sixteenth century the Church continued to regard civil society, either as a direct divine creation like man himself, or as something of which God was the remote, and nature, or the "instinctive sociability" of man, the proximate, cause. But with the decline of medieval beliefs this conception of the state rapidly lost its hold on men; and the consequence was that when the theory of the social compact made its appearance it became immediately popular.

What was in all probability the first definite statement of the theory of the social compact dates from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Its author is Richard Hooker, the English theologian, whose *Ecclesiastical Polity* was published in 1594. The first continental writer to formulate the theory was Johannes Althusius, a German, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But the man who first gave it the stamp of a great authority was Hugo Grotius, the Dutch publicist, who embodied it in his epoch-making work, *De jure belli et pacis* (1625). Half a century later it was adopted by Samuel von Pufendorf, an eminent writer on international law, in his work, *De jure natural et gentium* (1672). The latter not only recognized in the social compact a necessary antecedent to the governmental compact, but he also interpolated between them still another compact by which the form of government, whether monarchic, aristocratic or democratic, was determined. But by none of these writers, neither by Hooker, Althusius, Grotius, nor Pufendorf, was any attempt made to follow the theory of the social compact to its logical conclusions. This was first done by Hobbes and later by Locke and Rousseau.

It will be seen, therefore, that at the time Rousseau wrote the *Contrat Social* the theory of the social compact had been a more or less familiar conception among scholars and publicists for more than a century and a half, while that modification of it known as the governmental compact was not less than two thousand years old. That he was influenced by various writers from Plato down to his own time, particularly by Hobbes and Locke, is undisputed. But if Rousseau owes much to others he follows none slavishly. He frequently differs from both Hobbes and Locke, and treats the whole conception of the social compact with a momentous and far-reaching originality.

While Rousseau agrees with Hobbes in regarding the social compact as an agreement between the members of the community, by which each surrenders to his fellows the whole of his natural rights and puts himself under some common authority, and to which the king is not an original party, he reaches diametrically opposite conclusions with respect to the implications of such a compact. From the fact that the king was not an original party to the compact Hobbes reasons that he can do nothing to violate its terms, and if his rule prove tyrannical or corrupt the people have no remedy. Having alienated to the king beyond the power of recall that sovereignty, which sprang into existence by virtue of the compact that created the state, the people are helpless. The king is, therefore, absolute. But for Rousseau sovereignty is something which is in its very nature inalienable and indivisible. It follows, then, that the body politic created by the social compact could not have alienated to a king its powers of sovereignty. All that it could do, and what as a matter of fact it did do, was to transfer to a king certain powers of government which might be recalled at any time if abused; so that the king holds his office only at the pleasure of the general will. Thus starting from the same point, the assumption that the king was not an original party to the compact, Hobbes and Rousseau reach the opposite principles of political absolutism and popular sovereignty.

On this point Locke differs from both Hobbes and Rousseau. His argument is that in abandoning the state of nature, and submitting themselves to the restraints of civil society, men not only entered into a compact with one another, but made at the same time a contract with a monarch and thereby established his right to rule over them. Thus Locke recognizes both the governmental and the social compact. In the former he makes the king a party to the agreement. Hence the king can violate its terms; but if he does so, he dissolves the compact, and the community is absolved from all obedience to his authority. In Locke's hands, therefore, the compact theory is made the basis and justification of a system of limited monarchy. He was the apologist of the English Revolution of 1688, just as Hobbes a generation before had been the champion of the absolutist claims of the Stuarts, and as Rousseau three quarters of a century later became the exponent of the principle of democracy.

Rousseau differed again from Locke, as Locke differed from Hobbes, with respect to the character of the state of nature, which preceded the creation of the state and the establishment of civil government, and the particular manner in which the state of nature was exchanged for the civil state. Unlike Hobbes, who regarded the state of nature as a state of universal war which the law of self-preservation compelled men to give up, Locke held that it was a state of natural equality and freedom, since all men are by nature endowed with certain rights of property and person. But Locke was compelled to admit that these advantages were seldom realized in the state of nature for the reason that the law of nature was obscured. This obscuration was due to three things: first, the biasing of men's minds by their interests; secondly, their ignorance of the law of nature; and thirdly, the absence of a "known and indifferent judge" to punish those who contravened the law of nature. Hence the state of nature, although it was by no means a state of universal war, proved so inconvenient and unsatisfactory that men were led to abandon its freedom and

equality and submit themselves to the restraints of civil society. In this abandonment of the state of nature each one voluntarily surrendered into the hands of a general authority certain of his natural rights and liberties, but only so many as were necessary to secure the benefits of civil society. The rights and liberties not thus surrendered the individual took with him into the civil state, where they had the same validity and binding force which they had in the state of nature. The state is conceived, therefore, by Locke as somethng created for the protection of rights already in existence, which it may not contravene.

All this differs fundamentally from the conclusions of Hobbes, who maintained that in abandoning the condition of universal war, which was inseparable from the state of nature, men surrendered to a monarch, a king, a government, completely and irrevocably, all the rights they had ever had. In his recognition of the limited, representative, fiduciary character of government Locke marks a great advance over Hobbes, for he foreshadows, if he does not reach, the full distinction between state and government, the most fundamental concept of modern political science. But if Locke recognized, though faintly, the modern distinction between state and government he failed utterly to distinguish between the community as a social aggregate and the community as a body politic, that is, between state and society; and as a matter of course he also failed to see that sovereignty is an attribute of the state and not of society. He clearly recognized that government is only an agent, but he failed to recognize the principal.

While Hobbes regarded the state of nature as a state of universal war, in which the life of man was "solitary, poor, nasty and short," and which the law of self-preservation compelled him to give up, and while Locke regarded it as something that was merely inconvenient and unsatisfactory but not necessarily intolerable, Rousseau, differing from both, conceived it in his earlier writings as a state of almost idyllic felicity. In his later writings, however, he does not speak

with so much confidence on this point. For he makes the admission that however desirable and advantageous the state of nature may have been at first when population was sparse, it became increasingly difficult, with the growth of the race in numbers and density, for each one to maintain himself. This is substantially the position of Locke.

With respect to the manner in which the transition from the natural to the civil state was accomplished Rousseau agreed with Hobbes in holding that in entering into the social compact each one surrendered not a part only of his natural rights, as Locke maintained, but all of them. With both, too, the surrender was absolute. They differ, however, with respect to the beneficiary of this act of surrender. Rousseau held that each surrendered his natural rights to all, that is, to the collectivity, whereas, according to Hobbes, the surrender is to a single person, or at most to a small body of persons, that is, to a king, a prince, a government. Thus Rousseau clearly distinguishes between state and government. It is the state, and not the government, that is sovereign; and it is only to the state that the individual surrenders his natural rights. On the other hand Hobbes recognizes no distinction between state and government, holding, or at least implying, that the creation of civil society, and the complete and irrevocable surrender of its sovereign powers to a government, were one and the same act.

While this distinction between state and government indicates a material advance over both Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau is not yet on modern ground. For he not only gives to government too narrow a meaning, but he fails, just as Locke did before him, to distinguish between state and society. He identifies government with administration, and completely subordinates it to the legislative power which is vested in the collectivity; so that when the people are assembled in a sovereign body they assume, and for the time being exercise, all the powers of administration in addition to those of legislation, which are never exercised in any other way than by the collectivity. Thus government is not only periodically anni-

hilated, what there is of it, but at no time is it permitted to express the will of the state. The will of the state can be expressed in no other way than through the collective acts of the people, who, by virtue of their direct participation in the making of all laws, retain in their own hands those powers of sovereignty which were acquired by them when the social compact was made. Thus the collective will and the political sovereignty, or the will of the state, are by Rousseau completely identified; and the doctrine of popular sovereignty is carried so far that the existence of a true state is made a practical impossibility. This differs fundamentally from the view of Locke, who conceded a legal validity to the acts of government so long as they did not contravene the recognized rights of the individual, and who regarded sovereignty as a power to be held in reserve by the people and to be exercised by them only on extraordinary occasions.

From this comparison of his views with those of Hobbes and Locke, to whom he owed much more than to any one else, it will be seen that Rousseau was no servile follower. His originality is in evidence at every step. In his conceptions of society, state and government he represents a material advance over both Hobbes and Locke. In several instances he reaches, and where he does not reach he often foreshadows, modern views. But his chief claim to originality rests on the momentous fact that he deduced from the theory of the social compact what had never been deduced from it before, namely, the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which is commonplace enough to-day but which at the time it was enunciated was regarded as the wild utterance of a social incendiary, the product of a disordered brain. Thus Rousseau breathed into the social compact a new spirit and gave it a new direction. This is the first ingredient of its two-fold significance. The other is the fact that he popularized the theory of the social compact, that he carried its doctrines, as has been so aptly said, from the study to the street. In his hands the social compact was no longer an academic theory or a piece of

metaphysical speculation, but a popular program which fascinated the minds and imaginations of men, a new social gospel which thrilled with life and stirred the multitude with new hopes and aspirations.

But if the full significance of the *Contrat Social* is to be comprehended, it is necessary to look to external circumstances, to the political and economic conditions of France in the eighteenth century, rather than to the intrinsic merits of the work. Probably no single piece of writing ever owed so little of its power and influence to itself and so much to a favorable conjunction of circumstances. It abounds with all sorts of defects. A fundamental one is that it has no foundation in fact, for civil society did not originate as Rousseau asserts it did; nor did it follow once originated the course which he marked out with so much assurance. The state of nature which he made antecedent to civil society is a figment of the imagination; and consequently civil society could not possibly have been established by means of a contract. No body of savages was ever known to have lived in a state of nature such as Rousseau postulates; and no genuine instance of a social contract has ever been found. The whole thing is an impossibility. For it involves the absurdity that a lot of savages invented government, and that they not only foresaw the political needs of future generations but absolutely bound the remotest of those generations by their covenant. The truth of the matter is that from the first men lived in rudimentary associations, from which by a process of evolution modern civil society has been slowly developed.

The act of the Pilgrims in "covenanting and combining themselves together into a civil body politic for their better ordering and governing" is frequently cited as a confirmation of the theory of the social compact. But it was nothing of the kind. It did not create a state for the first time. It did not invent government. It was merely the establishment of a government by persons who had always lived in a state of civil society, and who were, therefore, accustoned to its rights and duties.

It has been urged again in behalf of the theory of the social compact, that while it does not rest on any historical basis, it may yet be accepted as a proper interpretation of the relations subsisting between the individual and the state, and as constituting, therefore, a rational justification of civil government. But this view is no more tenable than the other. For the individual is not joined to the state by a voluntary agreement. He is born into the state, and is part of it as the hand is part of the body. He is in the state and the state is in him. Hence the relation between the individual and the state is not a voluntary but a compulsory one. Nor are his social obligations measured by the benefits which he receives from the state, as the theory of the social compact clearly implies. There is no government in the world to-day that is administered on a *quid pro quo* principle. And what is still more to the point, there never has been such a government. The adjustment of the burdens of government to its benefits is not even an impossible ideal. It is not an ideal at all, but a glaring injustice.

Both from the standpoint of history and reason, then, the theory of the social compact has failed to justify itself. It is unhistorical and illogical; and it has now been given up almost universally.

Another criticism, which is less fundamental perhaps than the other, and which is more applicable to Rousseau's presentation of the theory of the social compact than to the theory itself, is that the *Contrat Social* is full of paradoxes and contradictions. It contains many things which appear to have been put in for no other reason than that they happened to cross the author's mind at the time. For not only do they have no connection with their immediate context, but they are also out of harmony with the general spirit of the work. At times the social compact is to Rousseau a mere supposition; at other times he appears to believe fully in its historical reality. At one place the applicability of its principles is expressly limited to small cities like Berne and Geneva; at another, all men are declared to have become so corrupted by society as to be un-

worthy of the *Contrat Social.* At one time, again, the argument is made to rest on a basis of pure fancy; at another, on pretended observation. Because of these numerous inconsistencies and contradictions the *Contrat Social* has been called the most obscure and chaotic of all Rousseau's writings; and this appears all the more strange when it is remembered that it was the only one of his works, which was the outcome of some critical circumstance in his life, and which was not conceived and written in a moment of passion.

But with Rousseau's contemporaries all these defects which are so patent to us counted for nothing. The masses did not see his faults of logic; but they caught his meaning and they were moved by his eloquence. They neither knew nor cared that Rousseau's history was all wrong, that his premises were mere assumptions, that he made the facts fit his theories, that his inferences were fantastic; they only knew that he denounced tyranny and privilege and the inequitable distribution of wealth and the exploitation of the many by the few. They did not see that the *Contrat Social* was an impossible scheme of social regeneration; they only knew that it preached a gospel of hope and justice and liberty to an absolutist age.

That France lagged far in the rear of its insular neighbor in its political development is unquestioned. Since the revolution of 1688 the doctrine of the divine right of kings was no longer heard in England. But in France kings were still sacred things, as Bossuet declared; and even if they behaved like wolves it was the duty of Christian subjects to be as sheep. It is true, however, that at the time the *Contrat Social* appeared there were not wanting signs of a growing unrest throughout France. Since the middle of the century there had been a rapidly increasing interest on the part of serious-minded people, and even of the fashionable classes, in the first principles of government. So much is indicated by the character of the books read by the upper and middle classes and the most popular subjects of conversation in the *salons.* But this interest in political matters had not yet spread to the masses.

It was Rousseau who first taught them to think politically. A traveler, who at the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI returned to France after an absence of some years, was asked what change he had noticed in the nation. "None," he replied, "except that what used to be talked about in the drawing room is repeated in the streets."

By carrying the new doctrines from the study and the drawing room to the street Rousseau profoundly influenced the destinies of the modern world. "The world has not seen more than once or twice in all the course of history," says Maine, "a literature which has exercised such prodigious influence over the minds of men, over every cast and shade of intellect, as that which emanated from Rousseau between 1749 and 1762." It is perhaps too much to say that Rousseau's writings, that the *Contrat Social* more particularly, caused the French Revolution. To the historian and the sociologist it is a mere truism to say that a great social movement is always the result of a complex of causes. And yet Napoleon once declared that but for Rousseau France would have had no revolution. However this may be, it is certain that Rousseau counted immensely as a revolutionary force. At every stage, indeed, of that terrible upheaval his influence can be traced. "That which distinguishes the French Revolution from other political movements," declares Lecky, "is that it was directed by men who had adopted certain speculative *a priori* conceptions of political right with the fanaticism and the proselyting zeal of a religious belief. . . . and the Bible of their creed was the *Contrat Social.*" Mallet du Pan, a contemporary of the French Revolution, asserts that Rousseau alone inoculated the French nation with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and with its extremest consequences, that he had a hundred times more readers among the middle and lower classes than Voltaire, and that it would be difficult to find a single revolutionist of the days of '89, '90 and '91 who was not transported by his theories and did not burn with ardor to realize them. The debates in the revolutionary assemblies abound with references

to Rousseau's writings; and the several paper constitutions of the Revolution were directly based on his doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

With the masses Rousseau's doctrines were no less popular than with the leaders of the Revolution. Mallet du Pan declares that as early as 1788 he heard Marat reading and commenting upon the *Contrat Social* in a public promenade amid the applause of an enthusiastic audience. In the early stages of the Revolution veneration for his memory was unbounded. His remains were borne in triumph to the Pantheon. He was everywhere idolized as the friend of virtue and liberty, and the enemy of tyrants. Public fêtes were held in his name. Statues were erected to him, and his portrait was conspicuous in public places.

In saying that Rousseau's writings counted immensely as a revolutionary force it is not meant that he counseled violence as the proper remedy for social evils. With rare prescience he realized that the world was on the eve of a terrible cataclysm. "We are approaching," he wrote, "a crisis and a century of revolutions. . . . I hold it impossible for the great monarchies of Europe to last much longer." He foresaw the impending changes, but he neither desired nor instigated them. His was not the spirit of a revolutionist. He had an instinctive dread of blood and violence, and he nowhere teaches revolution. There is a measure of truth, therefore, in the contention of George Sand that the *Contrat Social* was no more responsible for the brutalities of the Revolution than was the Gospel for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. But this is not the whole truth of the matter, for the effects of an act are not ordinarily limited by the purposes of its author. In the irony of human affairs it frequently happens that the incidental effects of a man's teaching are altogether at variance, not only with his spirit and purpose, but with the distinctive principles of that teaching; and it is not possible, therefore, to limit responsibility to the purposed and direct effects and exclude the incidental ones.

But the effects of Rousseau's teachings, whether direct or incidental, are not to be limited to the French Revolution, or to his own nation, or even to his own generation. In the political philosophy of America his influence is traceable at many points. The Declaration of Independence clearly recognizes the theory of the social compact when it asserts "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." All this is conceived in the spirit of Rousseau and clearly indicates the strong influence which his teachings had on the author of the Declaration. In his private writings Jefferson went so far in his advocacy of the compact theory that he denied the right of one generation to bind another, and asserted that every constitution and every law ought to expire automatically at the end of thirty-four years, the average life of a generation. Others among the leaders of the American Revolution did not hold the compact theory in so extreme a form as Jefferson. Thus Madison laid down the principle that constitutions and laws were to be regarded as valid so long as they were not explicitly revoked.

The influence of Rousseau can be traced also in the constitutions of many of the American commonwealths. That of New Hampshire declares that "all men are born equally free and independent. Therefore all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good." "The body politic," says the constitution of Massachusetts, "is founded by a voluntary association of individuals. It is a social compact, by which the whole people convenants with each citizen and each citizen with the

whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the general good."

Still another place where Rousseau's influence may be easily traced is the modern socialistic movement. He has been called the father of modern socialism from the fact that the principles which he laid down a century and a half ago have been the fountain source of all revolutionary, communistic and socialistic literature ever since. To Rousseau modern socialism undoubtedly owes its deepest and most fundamental principle. In the tremendous emphasis which it places on equality it stands on common ground with him. In all his political writings, as he gives to equality the place of first importance, so he regards inequality as the greatest of all social ills. Inequality is defined by him as the "enjoyment by some of the privileges of wealth, honor, power, rule, to the prejudice of others." Wherever there is inequality it is because the state has failed to attain the ends for which it was instituted; for Rousseau concedes to the state no other right to exist than that which rests on its substitution of moral and legal equality for the inequalities imposed by nature. He loved to call himself *l'ami de l'égalité;* and his ideal state was one in which "no citizen should be rich enough to be able to buy another and none poor enough to be forced to sell himself." The great emphasis which Rousseau placed on equality, its supreme importance in his ideal state, his deliberate sacrifice of liberty in its interest, his disbelief in the beneficent tendencies of the unrestricted play of private interest, have found an echo in all socialistic literature; for they logically require the equalization of wealth, the *sine qua non* of modern theoretical socialism.

LANCASTER, PA.

VIII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

A. S. WEBER.

Jesus' Contribution to Man's Knowledge of God.

Religion is one of the primary instincts of human nature. If not a quite universal fact among men, religion is absent only among the most primitive and undeveloped savages of the race. This practical universality of religion witnesses to a correspondingly general belief in the existence of God, and to some sort of a conception as to God's nature and character. The belief in its earliest discoverable aspects may be hardly more than a vague feeling, and the conception only a dim intellectual and moral intimation. Still it remains true, and in the very face of pretended atheism and vaunted agnosticism, that the human spirit by the qualities inherent in its constitution is required, consciously or unconsciously, to assume that there is a God.

The development of these primary instincts and intuitions of God, and the progress in human knowledge with reference to His nature and character, can be traced in the upward struggles of mankind. No sooner did men begin to think about themselves and their natural surroundings, than theistic theories of some kind were suggested to their minds and reflected in their lives. As they went on thinking, they were driven by many considerations to the recognition of a divine Personality. They were driven to this conviction by the necessity of finding for persons and things a "Cause" beyond the natural forces which are powerless to work themselves. They were driven to it, again, in attempting to account for the consciousness of self which was theirs, and which no scientif

alchemy has ever been able to derive from matter. They were driven to it, moreover, when searching for the origin of conscience with its mysterious whisperings of duty and responsibility and with its terrifying tempests of remorse, which no naturalistic slight-of-hand can ever trace back to materialistic forces. And they were likewise compelled to adopt the same conclusion by contemplating matter with its mysteries of obedience to invariable law, and by life with its mysteries of thought and of the moral imperative.

Negative philosophy, as advocated by skeptic and unbelieving thinkers, has denied personality to the so-called Absolute as being a limitation of it, and consequently a self-contradiction. But no philosophy of the Absolute has ever succeeded in escaping from the charge of abounding in contradictions. The illustrations given by Sir William Hamilton of some of them make this perfectly clear, and should be sufficient to show that the demands of skeptics for logical consistency in this dim and awful region are entirely negligible. What every thoughtful man may be sure about, if certainty is anywhere, is his own consciousness and its affirmations. There he finds intelligence, a sense of righteousness and truth, of love and duty, all of which must have originated in an adequate cause, and this final Cause or Creator of them must Himself be the Personal Possessor of them. Fairly interrogated or interpreted, therefore, the human consciousness requires us to see in the supreme Cause those properties which we include in our definition of personality. These facts lie at the basis of Theism, and their challenge never has been, never can be, successfully controverted.

When the question is asked, whether the God whose existence and personality are thus assumed and justified is able to reveal Himself to men, the immediate answer given by the history of religion is an unqualified and unequivocal affirmative. Students of religion and its historical development, it is pointed out by Professor Gwatkin in his monumental work on

The Knowledge of God,[1] need not go on very far before discovering that "every argument which goes to verify the natural assumption as regards the bare existence of a personal God, goes equally to prove that He is a God of a certain character, and so compels men to say something definite about Him." This is one of the most significant facts with which inquirers into religion and its history have to deal, and an unprejudiced interpretation of the fact necessarily carries the conviction of Divine revelation as a possibility and reality. "If God is the final Cause of all causes, He must have the power of a sufficient Cause. If He is the ultimate origin of life and personality, He must have life and personality in Himself. If He has given us a moral sense, He must Himself be its concrete embodiment. If He has planted in us the desire of knowing Him, He must be abe to reveal Himself for the satisfying of that desire. In fact, the personal embodiment of the perfectly moral in God implies a required revelation of Himself to the human order of created intelligence. Revelation is not hindered by any want of willingness or power on God's part to give it, nor is it hindered by any want of power on man's part to receive it."

This possible and actual revelation of God to man, it should be observed, however, is, on account of man's intellectual and moral limitations, a process from what is less to what is more. It is always given by God in accordance with the intellectual and moral development and the spiritual attainments of men. In other words, it is a moral and spiritual revelation, not the result of an outward, mechanical arrangement or arbitrary process. Consistent with the nature of God as a moral and spiritual being, the act of revelation must accommodate itself to the divinely implanted and preëstablished psychological and moral laws that rule in man's nature. It must be made through moral and spiritual personalities that are more or less akin to God. It cannot be written outwardly in letters of light

[1] *The Knowledge of God and Its Historical Development,* by Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., 2 vols., 642 pages, price $3.75, T. & T. Clark.

upon the skies for man's information and instruction; instead, it must be made, in the first instance, an inward possession or achievement of particular individuals, and through their influence and leadership communicated to the knowledge of others.

In this regard the acquisition of the knowledge of God is analogous to man's enlarging attainments of knowledge in other realms. It is chiefly through the influence of great personalities that we can explain the progress that has been made and the higher ideals that prevail in the realms of science and art, of civics and philosophy, of individual and social morality. In every sphere of human activity, it is the individual personality, endowed with genius, that supplies the historical cause for the uplift and advance of mankind. The truth of this may be illustrated by reference to the names of Plato, Kant and Hegel in philosophy, of Kepler, Newton and Darwin in science, of Caesar, Cromwell and Lincoln in civil life, of Shakespeare and Milton, Browning and Tennyson in poetry, and of Savonorola, Luther and Calvin in morals. All these in their respective spheres originated new ideas and ideals, which transformed and enforced older ones, thus making them potent and effective, in connection with the new, in the lives of others brought in contact with them. All of them were centres of personal power from which radiated influences starting movements resulting in the so-called general tendencies of their times. No such movements have ever arisen until the originating, creative personality appeared, the discoverer, the leader, the revealer.

Preëminently true is this in the realm of religion in which man's deepest and highest life comes to expression. Everything that is vital, enduring, universal in religion has irradiated from great, inspired and inspiring personalities, and their abiding influence is found, upon inquiry, to lie in their personal grasp of eternal and universal truths which they made vital in their own being. By so doing they forced them upon the attention, and won for them the acceptance, of others, the process amounting to a revelation. The soundness of this contention could be readily established by examining the

origin, the doctrines and the history of all the great world-religions. But for our present purpose it is sufficient to show its validity particularly as regards the Jewish and the Christian faiths.

Of the former, Abraham and Moses may be said to have been the founders. Through their conceptions of Jehovah as the One Sovereign God, a new era in religious history was made possible. After them came the long line of Hebrew prophets, each one with his own contribution to the growing body of revealed truth concerning God. Without such a succession of religious seers, confirming and enlarging the ideas of their predecessors, that of which we have a record in the sacred writings of the Jews could not have been evolved. Through them the original conceptions of God were largely developed, ethically deepened, and spiritually purified. To the fact and method of this gradually unfolding process of revelation recorded in the Old Testament, one of the New Testament writers alludes at the beginning of his Epistle to the Hebrews. "God," that unknown writer there tells us, "in times past spake unto the fathers, through the prophets, in diverse portions and in diverse manners." The fathers who heard these prophets, heard the voice of God through them—a voice speaking with constantly increasing clearness and fulness of Himself as the All-powerful Creator of the universe, its All-knowing and All-wise Ruler, and the All-holy, Righteous and Loving Father of His people. And due to this fuller knowledge of God and Israel's belief in Him, is the immeasurable superiority of Jewish individual and social morals, and of their higher ethical conceptions of religion, as compared with the morals and religion of contemporary Gentile nations. God's revelation of Himself to the Jews, and the response they gave in their moral and religious life to that revelation—these together made possible everything that is great and glorious in their national career as God's people, chosen by Him as peculiarly fitted to serve the purpose of making His Name more perfectly known among men.

It goes without saying, however, that this Hebrew revelation, although it has come from God, was not fully and finally perfect. It was greatly in advance of what had gone before, but a great deal needed to be accomplished before that which is perfect in man's knowledge of God could be attained. Light passing through an imperfect medium upon the retina loses somewhat of its native beauty, splendor and purity. The light of the glory of the blessed God cannot be manifested in its resplendent beauty and attractiveness so long as it has to pass upon human vision through imperfect personalities. But once a perfect Man shall appear, it might have been anticipated by the Jews as it is now realized by Christians, God will be able to reveal Himself fully and finally in that Person. Through him, that which was true and permanently valuable in the old would be transformed and conserved in the higher revelation. Old things would pass away, all things would become new in the light he would shower upon them.

This perfect Man, sun-clear in his personal experience and knowledge of God, and Spirit-filled in his sinless and holy character—this perfect Man Christians believe to have appeared in history in Jesus, the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. "When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman," and in Him—to adopt Brierley's happy phrasing—"emerged the complete Personality in whom was exhibited all of God that could be contained and manifested in one human form." The writer to the Hebrews, already referred to, declares the Son, in whom the Father hath spoken unto us, as "being the effulgence of His glory, and the impress of His substance." And in the language of Paul, "the light of the glory of God," was given for the illumination of man's heart, "in the face of Jesus Christ." In the gift of this Son, the Father bestowed His most precious and priceless legacy of knowledge concerning Himself upon His children.

In the transmission of this illuminating and enriching boon to man, Jesus assumes the validity of the earlier revelations which God had made of Himself. What he declared with

reference to the law holds true when applied to revelation—he had not come to destroy but to fulfill. His mission was not to rob men of their confidence in previously given "portions" of the truth, but to confirm them in their confidence and assist them to the fuller apprehension of its content. Hence he does not argue, does not attempt to demonstrate God's being. He gives no proofs of God's existence. He takes for granted that those to whom he addresses himself know that there exists a supreme Divine Person, who is perfectly holy, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. Instead of dwelling on the existence and personality of God, and these previously recognized attributes of Deity, Jesus lays stress upon Love as being the very essence of God's being, and the principle governing Him in His relation to, and all His dealings with men. Divine Love, in the thought and teaching of Jesus, transcends and uses as its instruments all the other qualities of the Divine nature. Love passes beyond mere justice and righteousness, is infinite in patience and compassion, in mercy and forgiveness, in tenderheartedness and fatherly concern, toward everyone of His children. By this emphasis upon Love, Jesus revealed the heart of God, and so makes his original, unique and revolutionizing contribution to man's knowledge of God. Men's growth in the apprehension of this contribution accounts for and justifies the amazing changes that have been wrought in our times in the way of giving ethical content to systems of theology and religious doctrines. At the same time, also, we shall see presently, the incalculable value which God places on spiritual character, and the ideal of true manhood which it suggests and fosters, are corollaries of prime import and significance in this contribution made by Jesus to our knowledge.

Meanwhile, it is worthy of note that in making his full and final, ethical and spiritual revelation of God as Love, Jesus regards it unnecessary by argument to persuade men into an acceptance of his conception of God. He does not undertake to demonstrate that his is the true view. He simply affirms it in his teaching as he acts it in his life. Here lies the secret of

his authority. He speaks as never men had spoken, not as the scribes. His authority resides not in an outward constraint of law, nor in a dogmatism that chills the affections and fetters the reason. His unwavering conviction that God is Love—a conviction impressively carried home to the hearts of his disciples—lent its authority to his word, and as men surrendered themselves to its appeal when seen exemplified in his deeds, it aroused an answering witness in the depths of their own being, convincing them of its "sweet reasonableness" and bestowing upon them a conscious experience of personal freedom and blessedness. The authority of Jesus thus recognized and acted on always brings believers home to God, makes them new creatures, one with Christ and the eternal Father.

This endearing name, Father, always used by Jesus with a single exception when praying to God, had before been applied to Him by others. The part of Jesus' contribution to our knowledge of God at this point, lies, therefore, not so much in the term itself, as in the world of new meaning, exhaustless in its wealth of content, which, without explanation or theological discussion, it is shown to possess, and in the right he gave to all men to employ it as their own designation of God. Vastly enriched in its meaning as the name Father was on the lips of Jesus, it taught men to feel God's living, loving, gracious presence with them in all their experiences, and made them joyful in a new-found sense of a real Divine interest in them and in their lives. How unspeakably grateful for a believing heart to hear the assurance—"Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." How unutterably heartening and precious the saying—"If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those that ask Him." Were these the only authentically reported words of his, men would owe him an eternal debt of gratitude for his revelation of a deeper knowledge of the Father-God.

As already intimated, however, the contributions Jesus made to our knowledge of God, which we have now considered, carry certain implications of untold significance for us. One of these is the infinite value which the Father attaches to man's spiritual character. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which it possesseth." A man's worth is not to be reckoned by anything apart from his spiritual attainments. Spiritual worth is the only thing that counts with the God whom Jesus revealed. This reverses completely the judgments which too often prevail in the world. Its standards frequently stress the importance of outward riches, conventional probity, social position, success accomplished, fame achieved. In the mind of God, it is something of an entirely different order in man that has weight. It is the poor in spirit, the meek and lowly of heart, the peace-makers among men, those hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and those willing to suffer persecution rather than to depart from a faithful and steadfast adherence to the principles of right and truth—it is those diligently engaged in cultivating these spiritual graces and virtues that are building "life after God's plan." Theirs and theirs alone is the hallowed and hallowing consciousness of basking in the genial warmth of the Father's approving smile and benediction. So far as outward circumstances and material possessions are concerned, they may, like their Master, "have not where to lay their head"; in death, they may find it necessary, like him, to accept burial in a borrowed grave; on account of their external impoverishment, they may be neglected and forgotten by friends, and regarded by others with derision and scorn as melancholy failures; but having spiritual character and its accompanying satisfaction and peace, even the least of them outweighs in the scales of God the whole of the material universe.

And in revealing this Divine estimate of man's spiritual worth, Jesus sought to impress this additional truth, which is "good news of God" indeed, on every human soul, namely, that the possibility of attaining to this spiritual worthship is denied

to no man, no matter how steeped in ignorance and sin, or how undeveloped in moral life and religious character he may be, when the Gospel first finds him. This broad, all-inclusive sweep in the Evangel of Jesus, offering spiritual possibilities to every man, sounds a note which is distinctively its own, and which even to-day is regarded by many "too good to be true." "The Lord is not slack concerning His promises, but long-suffering, not willing that any should perish." In its origin Christianity was designed to make a spiritual salvation possible for all men, and whenever true to that design, its history, its doctrines, its efforts, have at once assumed and proved the efficaciousness of the design and the truthfulness of its underlying promise. The entire appeal and vital force of the Evangel rest on the fact, and men's belief in the fact, of the possibilities, inherent in the Gospel, of making a new human product out of the old life of anyone willing to avail himself of its proffered aid by faithfully committing himself to its gracious counsels and regenerating influences.

This is of the essence of Jesus' revelation of the Father's purpose and desire—a revelation which may well kindle renewed hope and more energetic effort in the penitent hearts of lost and wretched victims of ignorance and sin. It may well fire with new zeal, also, the Church's evangelistic enterprises, at home and abroad, in the interest of bringing humanity as a whole to the recognition and the cultivation of the spiritual, as the highest and most valuable in all of life's aims and relations. "Churches become centers of irresistible power, and homes the scenes of sunny brightness," says a distinguished and widely influential religious leader and brilliant contemporary writer, "when the men and women composing them recognize as a truth and realize as an experience that they were made with a view to an actual union with God, a combination of His nature with their own, out of which a new and higher form of life is to emerge."[2] And when the

[2] *Studies of the Soul*, by Rev. J. Brierley, B.A., cloth, 303 pages, price $1.20, Thomas Wittaker, New York.

men and women, referred to by the author quoted, shall come to a due appreciation that this "union with God," this "combination of His nature with our own," is possible for every child of the Father and yearned after by Him, they will labor more earnestly and sympathetically, and sacrifice more cheerfully and generously, for speeding the approach of the day which shall see God's purposes in this regard triumphantly accomplished.

The other corollary above alluded to as issuing out of or accompanying Jesus's revelation of God as Love, here offers itself for consideration. It is closely akin to the one that has just now received our attention, and yet is distinct from it. The incalculable value, which, in the mind of God, attaches to human character transfigured through union with Him, necessarily discloses the Father's ideal of perfected human personality which He meant His children to seek after and progressively to achieve. "Ye therefore shall be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect." Had Jesus given simply oral utterance to this lofty and seemingly impossible counsel, it would soon have been disregarded and forgotten. But he incarnated the precept in his own perfect human Personality. In what he personally was, men are allowed to see the Divine ideal of perfect Manhood actualized, and made historically and concretely potent for arousing in his brethren God-ward aspirations, and supplying them with motive abidingly adequate to sustain and support them in the steadfast pursuit of those aspirations.

Such power never attends merely abstract moral precepts. Philosophers have been conscious of this and have called attention to it; parents and teachers are constantly realizing it. So long as ethical principles and precepts, unembodied in living example, float merely in the air, they are largely futile and ineffective. In the case of Jesus, the absolutely perfect Manhood is vitally incarnate, giving forceful influence to his instructions and quickening practical effort to profit by them. This accomplished Ideal, held aloft to human vision, from

the beginning drew men to himself with unique power, and in every succeeding age has increasingly continued performing this helpful, saving ministry. And in yielding themselves to the drawing power of this incarnate Ideal, men discover that it does not infringe on their personal freedom, that it does not intimidate or impose an external compulsion, but that it woos and attracts, humbles and cheers, quickens and strengthens, with a tenderness of love that never wavers or despairs in the face of conflict, suffering or doubt. Jesus constantly calls forth renewed moral and spiritual effort on the part of his followers, and the resulting experiences invariably justify such effort. Step by step they are led into multiplied victories over things seen and temporary, and into possession of things not seen and eternal. Their characters are enriched in depth and purity, their lives are enlarged in purpose and service, their souls persuaded that they are moving on towards the attainment of the perfect manhood for themselves which God means to be their own. "We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

In connection with these illuminating experiences and reassuring convictions, the revelation of Jesus brings the human soul to its deepest consciousness of God as the Sustainer and Ground of the perfect human personality, and to the certitude of its immortality. "The more deeply individualism and the desire for self-perfection have taken hold on a person," writes Professor Hugo Münsterberg, "so much the deeper is his conviction that the short shrift before death is not the whole meaning of human existence, and that his craving for personal development hints at an existence beyond this world." "Hints" is not the word one should prefer to find here, because it seems not to express with sufficient positiveness the unquestioning assurance of a life to come, which is so abundantly warranted and justified, once "the craving for development," natural to man, is enlightened and stimulated by a knowledge of the perfect human Personality achieved by Jesus. Through his consciousness of God, his filial trust in Him, and

his uninterrupted communion with Him, Jesus had an unclouded and triumphant certainty of continued personal life after death. "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of sinners, and put to death; and the third day he shall rise again." History records the fulfilment of what these words show he so confidently anticipated.

The possibility for the followers of Jesus to attain to a corresponding certitude of immortality is clearly implied in his experience, but it must be achieved in accordance with the eternal law that wrought this consciousness in the Saviour's soul. It is not the immediate result of a mere intellectual acceptance of others' testimony as to the reality of an immortal life, nor of mere determination of the will to believe in what Martineau calls the "vaticinations" of our own minds and consciences. Vaticinations doubtless give vague intimations to us of another life, the testimony of others may contribute added force to those intimations, but the personal certitude our spirits are yearning for, comes only to those, who, conscious of their union with God and through personal intercourse with Him, cultivate spiritual kinship with Him in obedience to the command of His Son, "Be ye therefore perfect." In that way alone we can attain to a consciousness of the in-dwelling presence of the Holy Spirit and realize for ourselves that which it was the high and holy ambition of Paul, for instance, to achieve in his career, namely, a personal knowledge "of the power of the resurrection." Counting all things but refuse as compared with the excellency of perfected personality, disclosed in the Master, he heard God's "upward calling" addressed to him through His Son, and so pressed forward to win for himself a similar joy as the crown of life. More and more, as his Christlike life spent itself in the service of God, did his personal consciousness grow into the light of an eternal existence. "I know Him whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to guard that which I have com-

mitted unto Him against that day." It is possible for us to reach the same goal, but only by pursuing the same course. By accepting Jesus' revelation of our Divinely purposed union with the God whose name is Love, by accepting the standard of value which he taught God places on spiritual character, and by seeking to attain increasingly to perfect personality, to ideal Christian manhood, we shall be able to win for ourselves the certitude of a blissful personal immortality. Such a certitude, let it be repeated, is not information outwardly conveyed to and accepted by us. It is an inner achievement of the personal consciousness. The home of its truth is in the individual's own soul. Browning is right in teaching that:

> "Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
> From outward things, whate'er you may believe;
> There is an inmost centre in us all,
> Where truth abides in fulness. . . .
> and to know
> Rather consists in opening out a way
> Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
> Than in effecting entry for a light
> Supposed to be without. Watch narrowly
> The demonstration of a truth, its birth,
> And you trace back the influence to a spring
> And source within us, where broods a radiance vast,
> To be elicited ray by ray as chance may favour."

BALTIMORE, MD.

IX.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

The Missionary Motive.

As an historic movement the missionary work of the Christian Church is unparalleled in its scope, method of operations, purpose, and results. It surpasses in its vision the wildest dreams of empire. Its purpose is different from that of the state, the school, the guild, or the fraternity. Its results, notwithstanding almost insuperable obstacles and checks, exceed in spiritual and moral influence those of any other social, political, philosophical, or religious propaganda. Its unbroken continuity for two thousand years, surviving the decline and fall of two great ages of human history, is a powerful testimony to its divine origin and its human need. Royal dynasties, schools of philosophy and art, religious cults, and political systems have come and gone, but the Christian missionary is laboring patiently in every land and is proclaiming his Master's message in every tongue. When one follows this stream of life flowing down the centuries, healing and refreshing the nations, he finds its spring in Galilee, in a teacher of the Jews, a man of God, a servant of men, Jesus Christ. He kindled a spark in the bosom of His followers into a flame which, with its brightness and warmth, has encircled the earth.

What is the secret of this perennial enthusiasm for God and humanity? What new dynamic has the Nazarene introduced into the lives of men? When men leave houses and lands, kindred and nation, and imperil their lives on sea and land, among savage tribes and city mobs, in the heat of the tropics and the cold of the arctics, in the service of an unseen Lord and a foreign people, and do all this with ever growing zeal for two millenniums, we may well pause to inquire into the motive of missions.

The mere command, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations," does not suffice. The authority of an outward injunction must become the constraint of an inward and spontaneous impulse. The Christian disciple is not to render blind obedience even to his Lord, like the soldier in "The Charge of the Light Brigade,"

> "Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die."

We are not servants who know not what their Lord doeth. He has called us "friends," and "all things that He hath heard from His Father He has made known unto us" (John 15:15). The rationale of the command must be found in the character of Christ. The quality of His life, His revelation of God, His ideal of man, the fellowship of faith which He effects between God and men,—these are various aspects of the ultimate and permanent motive of missions.

From time to time Christians have been controlled by what may be called minor or secondary motives, which we by no means despise. For such vitality as they have they draw from the major motive. Even Paul conceded that "some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will;" the one of "love," the other of "faction." He rejoiced, however, "that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed" (Philip. 1:16–18). Yet as times change and men change with them, some of these motives necessarily lose their force, and missionary enthusiasm must be rejuvenated by a return to Christ who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

Once men believed and taught that a heathen soul goes to perdition with every tick of the clock. That is a startling and chilling statement, but it aroused men to missionary endeavor. The modern man will hardly respond to such an appeal, nor is the minister of the gospel inclined to make it. It remains true, nevertheless, that every person, dying in paganism, has passed through life and enters eternity without the blessings

and comfort of the gospel. A devout Christian will consider this an incalculable deprivation and loss, which it is his duty in the future to aid in forestalling.

At times heathen religions have been considered totally depraved, even of diabolical origin. They were presumably intended to thwart the gracious purpose of God and to deceive, if possible, the very elect. Now there is a tendency to magnify the ethnic religions. The experience of missionaries and the comparative study of religions show clearly that even among the gentiles the spirit of truth and righteousness is preparing the way for the gospel of grace. Men everywhere are seeking God, if happily they may find Him; there have been prophets among the nations since the world began. This, however, only proves that man is by nature religious, not that natural religions are sufficient. Their inadequacy is all the more glaring in the light of Christian ideals and achievements. The recognition of virtue in paganism does not, therefore, minimize the missionary responsibility of the Church.

Men have been impelled to missions by the humane purpose of sharing with the tribes and nations of the earth the benefits of Christian civilization and culture. It is urged that the oriental people need the politics, industry, medicine, and schools of the occident. The only safeguard against the "yellow peril" is to preach the gospel of peace. The force of this motive has been somewhat neutralized, however, by the discovery in missionary countries of a civilization with its art, philosophy, and morality, older by centuries than that of the Romance or Teutonic nations, and in some respects bearing favorable comparison to that of the West. Recently the army and navy of an eastern power has astounded the world, no less by its mastery of all the details of the art of warfare, than by its victory over one of the greatest and proudest monarchies of Europe. It is doubtful, however, whether men can be frightened by the "yellow peril" to go or to give for the world's evangelization. Nor will the enthusiasm for propagating civilization and culture be an adequate motive for missions. While

the gospel will transform social institutions, improve the body and the mind of man, and establish peaceful and profitable commercial relations between the nations, these blessings are not the primary aim, but only a secondary result, of Christian missions.

Let it be granted then, that we no longer pass sentence on the heathen after death, that we recognize truth in their religions, that they have a civilization which is not to be destroyed but perfected, and that we are not frightened by the threat of the "yellow peril"—the original and ultimate motive still remains as valid to-day as in the days of the Apostles.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says: "God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect." He refers to the saints of Israel from Abel to Malachi,—law-givers, psalmists, prophets. Great as was their faith, heroic their service, and glorious their death, they should not be made perfect apart from us, that is, from Christ and the fellowship of Christians. The greatest of them was less than the least in the Kingdom of Heaven. They became complete only in Christ.

Even with more emphasis we may say of the heathen nations, that "apart from us, they should not be made perfect," for there is not a truth or a virtue in pagan religions which is not found in purer and richer form in the gospel. Robert E. Speer says: "It is true that Hinduism teaches the immanence of God; it is true that Mohammedanism teaches the sovereignity of God; it is true that Buddhism teaches the transitoriness of our present life; it is true that Confucianism teaches the solemn dignity of our earthly relationships and our human society. But are not all these truths in Christianity also? And in Christianity each one of these truths is balanced by its just corrective, which is absent from the non-Christian religions. Hinduism teaches that God is near, but it forgets that He is holy. Mohammedanism teaches that God is great, but it forgets that He is loving. Buddhism teaches that this earthly life of ours is fleeting, but it forgets that we must

therefore work the works of God before the night comes. Confucianism teaches that we live in the midst of a great framework of holy relationships, but it forgets that in the midst of all these we have a living help and a personal fellowship with the eternal God, in whose lasting presence is our home."

The supremacy and finality of the Christian religion appear not only in its ideas of God, man, and the world, but in its power to effect the fellowship of faith and love between God and man, and to enable man to overcome the world and to live unto God. The Father of Jesus is not an immanent force pervading the universe, not an arbitrary despot far removed from the world, but Holy Love who pardons and provides, who inspires and upholds, who directs and perfects men. The gods of the gentiles have driven men frantic with fear, made them savage with lust, turned them despondent into the desert, or aroused in them a proud and disdainful defiance of the spirit of the universe. They develop a sickly sainthood, an indulgent epicureanism, a heartless stoicism, a sneering cynicism. Christ not only saves men from their sinful natures, from evil in the world, and from terror of the coming judgment; but awakens joy in the heart in the midst of the world's sorrows, trust in the face of the world's difficulties, hope in the prospect of the world's decadence and death, love in answer to the world's hate. Manhood, physical and spiritual, finds its crown and completion in Christ. He is the life of the world; and apart from Him the human ideal is not attainable. Nor does He save and perfect the individual only; but He transforms social institutions, and becomes the principle of the highest civilization and culture. Christian theology will eventually find its counterpart in a Christian sociology.

Our missionary enthusiasm will be commensurate with our personal experience of the benefits of the gospel. So long as Christianity does not crystallize into dogma, harden into an institution, or turn into an æsthetic cult, but remains life-giving power in the soul, it will impel men by its inherent force

to share the blessings of salvation with their fellows even unto the ends of the earth. For, unless we are elder brothers, we shall watch and pray, toil and hope until the prodigals of the world have returned to the Father's house.

If they apart from us cannot be made perfect, it is equally true that we, apart from them, cannot be made perfect. The question is not whether the heathen can be saved without Christ, but whether Christians can be saved without the heathen. Humanity is not an aggregation of individuals having no relation to one another; it is an organism in which each member is vitally bound to the other. The perfection of the individual is possible only through the perfection of the organism of which he is a part. "Christianity," says Dr. Nevin, "must penetrate and transform into its own image the life, the whole life of the race, as such; and not till this shall have been done, can it be said to have fulfilled its mission, or actualized its idea, or accomplished its full development in the consciousness of the world." The constitution of humanity, no less than the nature of Christianity, logically bids us go and make disciples of all nations.

The "struggle for the life of others" is the distinctive and the deepest motive of Christianity. It is the ultimate principle of eternal love. It is the mystery of Calvary. "He saved others; himself he cannot save." Even Christ "had to suffer these things and to enter into his glory." Only after he was "lifted up" could he "draw all men unto himself." The larger life can be reached only through death. "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." Individuals and congregations too frequently are engaged in working out their own salvation without concern for others,—clearly an impossible task. They seek life in Christ without sharing in the sacrifice and death through which Christ entered into glory. The way to glory always leads over Golgotha. This, indeed, is a hard saying; but a necessary and salutary appeal to the heroic element in men in a pleasure-loving and labor-saving

age. If our churches are to accomplish their mission, to enjoy the favor of God and the respect of the world, they must fulfill the law of the Cross, which is none other than active service for the salvation and the perfection of mankind.

G. W. Richards.

The Reign of the Bizarre.

When, in moments of quiet rumination, we look out upon the passing show of life, we cannot fail to be impressed by certain phenomena which, though varied in kind, are of like import. In literature—be it novel, play, magazine, or newspaper; in art—be it canvas of impressionist or colored supplement to the Sunday edition; in the moving-picture show; in architectural freaks and musical absurdities; in women's coiffures, hats, and gowns; in the marvelous get-up of the wealthy motorist, out for a speedy run; in these and other like phenomena we behold the unquestionable reign of the bizarre.

Fiction provides us with an apt illustration, in the novel of the so-called "fleshly" school. The demand now, we are told, is for strong, virile work. The day of the sentimental novel—the sweet, simple love story, where all ends happily—is past. Even the moving tale of passion, in which the conventions and reticences of civilization are respected, is now too colorless. The modern age, it would seem, hears again "the call of the wild," and is lured by its fiction-mongers to respond. In the pages of the erotic novel human nature is shown, "red in tooth and claw"; men and women, stripped of the outward decencies which society has seen fit to impose, are exhibited, as to their passions, in a state of primeval savagery—naked and unashamed. That the writers of these virile (!) tales are often women, only accentuates the unnaturalness and unwholesomeness of the work. It is extravagant, inartistic, unbeautiful, bizarre.

On the stage we may see similar phenomena. Leaving out of count the simply stupid, the disgustingly vulgar and indecent plays, the name of which each year is legion, we shall

find in the work of many representative dramatists much that is not only morbid but also fantastic and bizarre. Ibsen, it is true, is dead; but are not Shaw and Sudermann, Maeterlinck and D'Annunzio yet alive? And are they not drawing to our theatres each season men and women who crave the unusual, and who do not always perceive that it is likewise the unnatural, the half-true, and the false? And what shall we say of Rostand? Despite the beauties of his charming phantasy, "Chantecler"; despite its poetic symbolism, its clever characterization, and subtle suggestiveness, when read in the library or interpreted by the literary critic, is it not, after all, a mere *tour de force,* when estimated as a play? Are birds and beasts and barn-yard fowl—made up as such upon the stage, yet revealing human faces and speaking the language of men and women—a legitimate theme for the drama, "whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature," to show character, *human* character, in action? When, then, the supreme test is applied, even the genius of Rostand, as expressed in his latest and much-discussed production, has clearly gone astray. In "Chantecler" we see again the triumph of the bizarre.

The metropolitan daily, with its flaring head-lines, sensational news items, and tawdry illustrations, must be placed, without question, in the same category. If contemporary society is to be judged by the testimony of our most widely-read journals, then murder and rapine, divorce and suicide, burglary and arson, graft, corruption, deceit, and perjury are its distinguishing characteristics. As for the monster Sunday sheet, with its numerous special features, including the woman's page and the colored atrocity meant for the amusement of children, a self-respecting woman or child may be permitted to wonder why it ever came to be, and wherefore such waste of energy and valuable wood-pulp.

The impressionist picture, in its extreme form, produces upon the uninitiated a similar effect. The plain man, who expects to find upon the artist's canvas a moderately faithful

representation of what the normal eye discerns in the contemplation of nature or the human subject, stands aghast in the presence of one of these color symphonies. Truly the artist's eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," has seen things in earth and heaven never dreamed of in our everyday philosophy. When one passes, in the great galleries of Europe, from the salons and cabinets containing the masterpieces of other centuries, to the room in which are displayed the works of contemporary impressionists, his faith in the evolutionary hypothesis, as exemplified in art, receives a rude shock. If art has come to this, it is difficult indeed to comprehend how the theory of progressive development can be justified of its adherents. Reversion to the infantile seems here to be so clearly demonstrated!

Perhaps, however, the modern woman *a la mode,* as she may be seen any bright afternoon on the Bois de Boulogne, on Fifth Avenue, or on any crowded thoroughfare nearer home, supplies us with a yet more convincing proof of our contention. In her marvelous coiffure, prodigious hat, grotesque skirt, and astounding figure, she presents an *ensemble* which defies alike the conventional ideas of feminine anatomy and that higher law of beauty which woman, of all creatures, is supposed instinctively to obey. The mandates of Fashion are, it is evident, supreme and inexorable; and when Fashion decrees that the bizarre shall prevail, woman unhesitatingly waives all scruples of grace and beauty and becomes, for the nonce, an unqualified exponent of the bizarre.

Of the male motorist, crouching behind a wind-shield, arrayed in cap, ear flaps, goggles, and great-coat of approved pattern, and holding between his clenched teeth a cigar which, in the nature of the case, quickly accomplishes its own combustion without any aid from him, we need say nothing. "In shape more like a monster than a man," he incarnates for us the spirit of the age which, in its varied manifestations, we have termed—for want of a better name—the bizarre.

Shall we, then, conclude that the obsession of the bizarre,

so unmistakably evident all about us, is a sign of decadence? Obviously, that would be a simple and downright deduction from our premises. Or shall we, with characteristic American optimism, catch at the always available straw, and thereby save ourselves from the bitter consequence? When segregated, all the phenomena we have discussed testify clearly to decadence. That which is morbid, extravagant, grotesque, or irrational cannot be indicative of normal growth or healthy development. If we be serenely philosophic, we may regard it all as demonstrative rather of a temporary reaction, a deplorable hitch in the process of evolution—at best, painfully slow. Our faith in the essential soundness of the race will not permit us to be unduly depressed by manifestations which are, after all, far from general or conclusive.

It is interesting, at this juncture, to recall what Wordsworth wrote, a little more than a century ago, in the Preface to the second edition of his "Lyrical Ballads." Commenting upon the tendency to strong sensations, so apparent then in poetry and the drama, he wisely says: "The human mind is capable of being excited without the application of gross and violent stimulants; and he must have a very faint perception of its beauty and dignity who does not know this, and who does not further know that one being is elevated above another, in proportion as he possesses this capability. . . . A multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. . . . To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse. When I think upon this degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation, I am almost ashamed to have spoken of the feeble endeavor made in these volumes to counteract it; and, reflecting upon the magnitude of the general

evil, I should be oppressed with no dishonorable melancholy, had I not a deep impression of certain inherent and indestructible qualities of the human mind, and likewise of certain powers in the great and permanent objects which act upon it, which are equally inherent and indestructible; and were there not added to this impression a belief, that the time is approaching when the evil will be systematically opposed, by men of greater powers, and with far more distinguished success."

So Wordsworth felt and so he hoped, one hundred years ago. Again the pendulum has swung far from its centre of oscillation. May we not hope that it has well-nigh completed its arc, and that, after a brief rest, it will begin its long sweep backward towards a safer, saner region of life and thought?

C. Ernest Wagner.

A Catechetical Manual.

A good brother recently wrote us, raising the question whether the General Synod, at its next meeting, should not inaugurate a movement looking to the revision of the Heidelberg Catechism. He also states that there are at the present time a large number of ministers in the Reformed Church who, in a private way, are seriously debating the propriety of some such action.

We have no means of ascertaining how extensive the desire for such a revision may be; but we have some clearly defined convictions on the subject. We are well aware that the question has been raised before, both in this country and in Germany. There always have been, and there likely always will be persons who are dissatisfied with the Catechism, and who would be glad to see either a revision or else a new confession.

It needs to be remembered that the Heidelberg Catechism has from the beginning subserved a twofold purpose. It has been our one and only confession of faith; and it has been our manual for imparting religious instruction to the young. And so far as there has been dissatisfaction with it, it has grown sometimes out of the one and sometimes out of the other

use to which it has been put; but generally, we believe, it has grown out of its use as a manual for religious instruction.

The excellencies of the Catechism as a confession of faith have been generally recognized. We have been told again and again that, as a confession of faith, it surpasses all the confessions of the sixteenth century; and we believe that the claim can be substantiated. It possesses unusual excellencies, which have often been extolled, and which have not been outgrown by the lapse of time. It is hard to believe that the General Synod could raise a committee which could produce a work of equal merit. This is not an age of confessions. It is doubtless an age of great theological unrest; but for that very reason it is ill fitted for the production of a confession of faith. New problems are looming up on every side; and until there has come to exist far greater unanimity as to the proper solution of the problems than exists to-day, the time is not ripe for the production of a confession of faith which shall satisfactorily gather up the results of modern study.

It is doubtless true that many of the statements of our Catechism were better suited to the sixteenth century than to our own; and it is equally true that the form in which some of its doctrines are stated does not meet the requirements of our present-day thinking. There is probably no one in the Church to-day, who has given serious thought to the matter, who is satisfied with the answers to questions 44 and 80. While there are probably few, if any, who question the *fact* of the atonement, there are many who are no longer satisfied with the *theory* of the atonement which was held by the authors of the Catechism. The same may probably be said of other doctrinal statements. And yet with the general scheme of doctrine which underlies the Catechism there is still very general agreement.

We hence believe that any attempt to revise the Catechism, with the view of obtaining a more generally acceptable confession of faith, would be unfortunate and in the end doomed to failure. Suppose we grant that there is a new movement in theology on foot, which will ultimately make it necessary

for the Church to restate its faith in a new confession, we are persuaded that the time for such restatement has not yet come. Any attempt at this time to produce it could only end in fruitless and disastrous controversy.

But when we come to look on the Catechism as a manual for religious instruction, the matter assumes a different aspect. Just as Luther soon felt that his larger Catechism was not what the Church needed as a catechetical manual, and thus set to work to prepare his shorter Catechism, so it was in the Reformed Church. A shorter Heidelberg Catechism was published as early as 1585; and Child's Catechisms have been prepared from time to time by many of our best and ablest pastors. And the reason for it is not hard to see. A confession of faith must of necessity be somewhat formal and doctrinal; and in the nature of the case it cannot well have that simplicity and directness which a manual, which is to be placed into the hands of children, should have. That has been a ground of objection to the Catechism from the beginning; and it is no doubt the reason why so many have at various times tried to prepare either abridgments of the book itself, or else simplified manuals.

In addition to the above, several other reasons may be given why a simplified manual is desirable. The teaching of the Catechism is clothed in the thought forms of the sixteenth century, and is hence more or less foreign to the thinking of the present day. Before children are prepared to understand its teaching, much of it must be translated into simpler language and into language which is current at the present day. The answers to questions are as a rule long, and many of them complicated, so that they are neither easily understood nor readily remembered by young persons. And there are aspects of Christian duty which need emphasis to-day which are not brought out in the Catechism.

We hence believe that, while a revision of the Catechism as a confession of faith is uncalled for and inexpedient at the present time, a simplified manual is desirable. And such a manual, it strikes us, might be prepared by a judicious com-

mittee. It should as largely as possible avoid all merely theoretical and speculative questions, and should emphasize the ethical and spiritual elements of our holy religion. And that, it strikes us, might be accomplished without precipitating any controversy such as would likely follow an attempt to restate our doctrinal standard. The Heidelberg Catechism is especially rich in just such ethical and spiritual elements; and these might furnish the basis on which the work might be built up. As a supplement to the Catechism and in harmony with it, not as a substitute for it, such a manual might receive the sanction of the General Synod, without raising it to the dignity of an ordinance.

WILLIAM C. SCHAEFFER.

XI.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE WORLD A SPIRITUAL SYSTEM: An Outline of Metaphysics. By James H. Snowden, D.D., LL.D. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages ix + 316. Price $1.50 net.

One of the significant signs of the times is the fact that notwithstanding the scientific progress of the age and the large amount of time given to original research in the various departments of study, there is unmistakably a strong trend towards the study of metaphysics. Men are not satisfied with a knowledge of the phenomena of nature; not even with the interrelation of these phenomena and the discovery of the proximate causes upon which they depend and the laws by which they are governed. There is a tendency everywhere to get beyond the phenomena to the underlying reality, and to find a unifying principle in the light of which the whole system of things in the bosom of which we live may be explained. And in this process of inquiry there is a further tendency towards monism, and in monism towards idealism.

Dr. Snowdon, the author of the book under review, is a thorough-going idealist. He is a clear thinker and he has more than ordinary facility in expressing his thoughts so that they may be easily followed even by the reader who is not familiar with technical terms and the phraseology of philosophers. He does not believe that metaphysics is "that, of which those who listen understand nothing, and which he who speaks does not himself understand." On the contrary he accepts Professor William James's definition that it is simply "an unusually obstinate attempt to think clearly and consistently." In the book before us he tries to show that the world in which we live is a spiritual system through and through, and his reasoning, if not at every point convincing, is at every point highly suggestive, and his exposition is frequently striking and eloquent. There is ample food for thought, both for the plain man and for the scientific thinker; and any one who is in search of the truth and feels the unsatisfactoriness of materialistic science will find here a great deal that is interesting and helpful.

After a preliminary discussion of the nature of metaphysics, the author shows how different the world may appear to three different men according to their viewpoint. To the plain man, that is the "unreflective" man, the world seems to be just as it appears to his senses. The sun rises and sets, the landscape is bathed in glowing colors, and everywhere rock and soil, field and forest, are

solid, substantial and continuous. To the scientific man, however, while he accepts the world of appearances and lives in it just as the plain man does, "things are not what they seem." The sun does not rise and set by moving from east to west, but is fixed in the center of the solar system. Green and blue and yellow are only vibrations in ether of certain rates of rapidity. Material substance is not solid and continuous, but consists of molecules or atoms or ions capable of independent motion with large spaces between them. The metaphysician, accepting both the plain man's world and that of the scientist, goes a step farther and absorbs all these external phenomena into his own sensations. "There is no song of birds in the air, or sweetness in the apple, no pungent oder in the crushed pine leaves, and no hardness in the stone. These are subjective states in the mind, though they have objective causes." But here metaphysicians divide; some are dualists and some monists. The former hold that there are two forms of reality: a mass of extended reality existing in space and time, and a spiritual reality or mind holding intimate and definite relation with it. The latter go farther and resolve the whole universe into one ultimate reality differing according as their monism is materialistic, idealistic, or agnostic. The idealist, with whom we have to deal here, conceives that space and time are intuitions of the mind, and the qualities of things are modes of our experience excited by the objective reality which is mind or spirit, and the idealist usually conceives it to be one Absolute Spirit or God. "The idealistic metaphysician thus regards that landscape and the whole world as the reaction of our mind on God's mind. Sensation, space, and time are subjective in our mind, but they have their exciting cause and objective reality in God's mind" (p. 31). In the course of his argument the author insists, however, that our experiences, on this view, are just as real as those of the "plain" man, and he tries to guard against pantheism, by asserting the personality of God, although he is not only immanent in nature, but nature is the projection of the divine thinking, sensibility, and volition.

Space forbids the following out in detail of the author's argument. Suffice it to say that he first shows the subjectivity of all sensation and follows Kant in making space and time subjective with the difference, however, that our mental states must necessarily take the time form although they do not have spatial existence. The starting point of objective reality, the author's *pou sto,* is found in the nature of the soul of which the soul itself has intuitive or immediate knowledge. From this he proceeds to a knowledge of external reality, as over against solipsism or the belief that self is the only reality. To reach such knowledge the appeal is to experience. Conscious states move in two parallel streams. One of them consists of sensations over which self has

no control. Sensations are thrust upon us and the self cannot produce them nor direct their flow. The other consists of ideas, images, thoughts, and volitions, the course of which is directed by the mind itself. The former stream, therefore, the author argues must be due to something external to the mind which affects it and offers resistance. This confronts us first in the body which stands in the closest possible relation to the soul, and from it the step is easy to an external world of which we are a part. In it we find next certain spots or units of phenomena strikingly similar to our own phenomenal body, and from this we logically infer that these phenomenal bodies are the expression of inner life, or of souls, like our own.

From this point the author proceeds to discuss the nature of external reality. He finds that the world is first a phenomenon, then it is mind in man, then life, thought, sensibility and will. After this he inquires into the relation of God to the world. The objective world is the projection of God's own thoughts, so that very literally "in Him we live and move and have our being." But in the upward development of the system of things thus constituted we come to a point where independent units cut loose, as it were, from the general stream and become *personalities.* Man is therefore in the image and likeness of God, possessing selfhood, intelligence, will and character. "From the nature of our own soul we deduce the nature of God. God is mirrored in man as the great globe of the sun is mirrored in the dewdrop" (p. 181).

The least satisfactory part of the book, it seems to us, is found in the author's discussion of the nature of objective reality. Much that he says might with equal truth be said from a dualistic point of view. And the assertion that life and organization are found in the mineral world as well as in the plant and animal worlds, will not be generally accepted unless, with Grindon, life is defined in quite other terms from those to which we are accustomed. So also the extension of will downward so as to include reflex action, and the confounding of teleology in nature with morality add nothing to the force of the argument and are misleading.

The discussion of the problem of evil, although by no means a solution, contains many good points and is highly suggestive, and it would be difficult to find the arguments in favor of immortality more forcibly and eloquently presented than they are set forth by the author in the tenth chapter in which he treats of the Application of Idealism.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE FINAL FAITH. A Statement of the Nature and Authority of Christianity as the Religion of the World. By W. Douglas Mackenzie, President of the Hartford Theological Seminary. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages 243. Price $1.75 net.

This book is one of the fruits of the recent World Missionary

Conference, held at Edinburgh. It was written under the conviction that the Christian religion has come to one of the great crises in its history, and that the greatest need of the hour is "that many attempts should be made to define or describe the Christian Faith, as it confronts the great world with its claims and promises." With a view to establish the claim that Christianity is the absolute religion, and, therefore, the final form of faith, the author makes this contribution to modern Apologetics. He seeks to vindicate the Christian religion, not by an appeal to prophecy or miracle, or to some external authority, but by a thoughtful exposition of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and by their critical comparison with the non-Christian religions. This method of sole reliance upon the objective truth of Christianity will commend itself to discriminating readers as the only apologetic method in harmony with the free spirit of the age. The place of Christ in the life of the world will ultimately depend on the appeal made to the mind, will, and heart of man by the doctrine, duties, and hopes of the religion that arose from his revelation of God. In the vast missionary campaign for the spiritual conquest of mankind, the religion of Christ is thrown into vigorous competition with Buddhism and Mohammedanism. In this missionary contest, not to mention similar conflicts with Atheism and Pantheism in Christian lands, the power of Christianity and its prospect of becoming the world religion depend solely upon its intrinsic character and worth.

Animated by these convictions, the author essays the task of expounding Christianity afresh to this generation as the absolute and final religion of the world. And he sends his book out in the hope that it may be used as a hand-book, by many of those who are, in growing numbers, fired with missionary enthusiasm, for strengthening their own faith and for lighting the same fire in other hearts. The theological standpoint of the author is that of liberal conservatism. He finds the absoluteness of the gospel in the fact that it reveals God Himself in His relation to man as a moral being. And the finality of Christianity lies in this, that henceforth God acts upon the conscience of man only through Christ and his spirit.

In the body of his book the author treats successively, The Rise of the Final Religion, The Christian Revelation of God, The Christian View of Christ, The Christian View of Sin and Evil, The Christian Message of Salvation, The Principle of Faith, The Vital meaning of the Church and the Bible, The Missionary Impulse. The mere fact that this theological treatise ran rapidly through a second edition, which is nearly exhausted, suggests that both in the selection and exposition of his topics, Dr. Mackenzie has reached the modern mind effectively. Careful perusal of the several chapters serves to strengthen that impression. Just to adversaries, irenical in discussion, critical and yet conservative in

his positive attitude toward the verities of the Christian religion, the author has placed the heart and mind of the Church of Christ under large obligations. His volume will occupy a prominent niche in the growing library of modern Apologetics.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

THE NATURE OF GOD. A Series of Lectures. By John A. Hall, D.D. Philadelphia, The Lutheran Publication Society, 1424 Arch Street. Pages 328. Price $1.25.

This volume consists of a series of lectures that were delivered before the students of Wittenberg Theological Seminary during the winter of 1908 and 1909. Their publication in book form is a welcome addition to the theistic literature of our day, and deserves wide reading. From cover to cover the book is a challenge to concentrated thinking. The author attempts to present the Christian idea of God as opposed to that of philosophy. That is the primary object of the book and the writer is at his best in setting forth the concrete character of the Christian God as contrasted with the barren Absolute of philosophy. The richness and fullness of the divine nature, as revealed by Christ, is unfolded in two chapters on the Trinity. The reviewer is not aware that this abstruse technical doctrine of the inner being of God has been treated anywhere more practically and presented more convincingly than by Dr. Hall. These Trinitarian chapters alone should win for the volume the approval of all who are interested in rescuing theology from the region of scholastic formulas and restoring it to a place of power.

Besides this excellent statement of our trinitarian faith, the volume, in its fifth chapter, presents a sapient and sound argument on the certainty of religious knowledge. It is difficult to see how sincere sceptics can escape the force of the author's cogent reasoning that the validity of faith-knowledge, like that of scientific knowledge, can only be tested and determined by those who are qualified to judge. The experience of the religious soul may be had by all who conform to the conditions of trust and surrender to the God of the Christian revelation. Those who refuse to make the experiment, in faith as well as in the chemical laboratory, are of necessity debarred from the experience which brings knowledge.

These are some of the salient features of the constructive portion of a book that grips the heart in dealing with so-called speculative topics. Even where the author evokes dissent, as for instance in the rejection of the evolutionary principle, as interpretative of the genesis of religion, the reader will find his statements stimulating. The style is simple and luminous. The book is recommended to all who are interested in Christian Theism.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Philip Schaff. Volume V. Part II. The Middle Ages. From Boniface VIII, 1294, to the Protestant Reformation, 1517. By David S. Schaff, D.D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. Pages xi + 795. Price $3.25 net.

This volume is the second part of volume V of the *History of the Christian Church* which is now completed in seven volumes as originally planned by Dr. Philip Schaff. It must be a great satisfaction to Dr. D. S. Schaff that he was permitted to finish his father's task, and share with him the honor of writing and publishing the most elaborate history of Christianity that has yet come from the American press. We extend to him the congratulations of the Reformed Church in whose Theological Seminary, then located at Mercersburg, Pa., Dr. Philip Schaff prepared his first historical work on the *Apostolic Age* in the fifth decade of the last century. Thus a period of nearly seventy years of the most painstaking investigation, extensive reading, and enormous accumulation of material has been spent in the preparation of this monumental work.

The closing period of the Middle Ages is the subject of this volume. It may be considered also as the preparatory stage of the Reformation. For during this time Medieval Catholicism is gradually disintegrating, and the hidden and repressed forces and tendencies working for a new era are coming more and more into ascendency. The author clearly discerns and describes these aspects of the life of the Church. In each chapter one finds evidence of an irreconcilable conflict of two conceptions of Christianity, which in time must result in two distinct branches of the Church Catholic.

The material is grouped in ten chapters with the following headings: I, The Decline of the Papacy and the Avignon Exile, A.D. 1294–1377; II, The Papal Schism and the Reformatory Councils, 1378–1449; III, Leaders of Catholic Thought; IV, The German Mystics; V, Reformers Before the Reformation; VI, The Last Popes of the Middle Ages; VII, Heresy and Witchcraft; VIII, The Renaissance; IX, The Pulpit and Popular Piety; X, The Close of the Middle Ages.

The former power of the papacy is waning. The spirit of independence appears in the new nationalism, the innovations of the sects, the freedom of inquiry of some of the later schoolmen and of the rising humanists. Reformers before the Reformation lift up their voices in protest against the doctrines and practices of their Church. The mystics find a new access to the throne of grace, and the people themselves feel the stirring of new life, new hope, and new aspirations. The dawn is gradually breaking and the sun of a new day rises upon Germany and Switzerland. The author shows how this is the one divine event toward which the whole western world is moving.

He occupies his father's point of view and significantly repeats

on the title page the Latin epigram found in each of the seven volumes: *Christianus sum. Christiani nihil a me alienum puto.* While he is a firm believer in the superiority of evangelical Protestantism, he is by no means blind to the glory and worth of Medieval Catholicism. He strives to do justice to the facts in the sources. He is fearless indeed in his criticism and condemnation of some of the popes, without, however, despising the papacy. His condemnatory judgments are not passed on these men because "they occupy the papal throne, but because they are personalities who in any walk of life would call for the severest reprobation." He freely acknowledges the debt which Protestantism and the modern age owe to the great personalities of this period. "Without the medieval age, the Reformation would not have been possible." Well may we pray for men to speak to our generation as Saint Bernard, Francis d'Assisi, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Catherine of Siena, Gerson, Tauler, and Nicolas of Cusa spoke to theirs. They were men of God, the influence of whose life reaches far beyond the boundaries of their Church. It is the author's catholicity, moderation and poise, his thorough acquaintance with the original sources and the standard authorities, his loyalty to the facts and independence of judgment, which make this work an invaluable contribution to the historical literature on the middle ages, and especially helpful to the English reader.

Following the plan of the other volumes of the series, the sources and literature, usually covering four and five closely printed pages, are cited at the head of each chapter. Extensive footnotes contain illuminating discussions of the views of leading authorities on difficult questions and the conclusions which the author has reached through his own investigations. The volume closes with a comprehansive survey of the dominant tendencies in the three periods of the middle ages, extending from 600 to 1,600, and the new currents which began to flow in the stream of history which found an outlet in the various channels of Protestantism.

The great majority of the readers of the REVIEW have in their possession the other volumes of this history, and will now doubtless welcome the opportunity of completing the series by procuring the two parts of volume V.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

COMMENTARY ON GENESIS. By John Nicholas Lenker, D.D., Translator of Luther's Works into English. Vol. II. Second Thousand. The Luther Press, Minneapolis, Minn., U. S. A., 1910. Pages 329. Price $1.50 net.

This is the second volume of Luther's Commentary on Genesis which appears now for the first time in English. The eight volumes of his Gospel and Epistle Sermons and the one volume of his principal catechetical writings have been favorably noticed from time to time in the REVIEW. Each group of his writings has its

own unique purpose and value. All, indeed, are important to understand the genius and influence of the great reformer. In the commentaries one obtains an insight into his mind, a practical application of his principles to the life of his age, and his method of interpreting the Scriptures which were to him the source of truth and life, as probably in none of his other writings. He not only expounded, but also re-lived, the Bible; and on that account there is a perennial freshness in his expositions which makes them interesting reading and valuable helps to the minister of to-day.

While he called the Epistle to the Galatians his "Catharine von Bora" and doubtless found in it the clearest reflection of his own experience in passing from Romanism to Protestantism, he also speaks of his "dear Genesis" and found in it the free evangelical religion which he proclaimed in opposition to the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church of his fathers.

This volume contains his comments on chapters four to nine inclusive. The fact that 329 pages are devoted to so brief a portion of Genesis is proof of the wealth of material which he unearthed in what to many may seem a comparatively obscure part of the book. His method of treatment is not that of the historico-critical exegete, but of the expositor and practical commentator. He finds in Cain, Seth, the Flood, the Salvation of Noah, the Rainbow Covenant, the Sons of Noah, and Noah's Fall, typical persons and events in which the ways of God to men in every age are depicted. His comments are always timely and have a religious end in view, namely, the stirring of men to repentance, the quickening of faith, and the awakening of a new and living hope. As the author, or authors, of Genesis used the traditions of the Ante-Deluvian and Deluvian times to teach his age God's relation to men, and men's to God; so Luther, through this ancient narrative shows his generation under new conditions the mind of God.

In the introduction by Professor Lenker on "Luther and World Evangelization" a plea is made for the reading of Luther in English. This is to help the Germans and Scandinavians in this country to make the transition from the distinctive church life of their native lands in Europe to the Anglo-Saxon or American type of Christianity. Thus the substance of Lutheranism will be conserved, though it will live on in the forms and environment of the New World. His argument is worthy of careful consideration. He also shows how the Lutheran Church has exercised a world-wide influence in the evangelization of the nations; a fact which is often overlooked by English and American writers of missionary history.

Geo. W. Richards.

HONOR THE LORD WITH THY SUBSTANCE. By Rev. A. C. Whitmer. Published by the Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States, Philadelphia, Pa., 1909. Pages vi + 183.

This is a delightful little book. In its form it is a thing of beauty and does credit to the contents no less than to the author, the publisher, and the generous donors who have made its publication possible. Its purpose is to rouse in men a sense of their opportunity, responsibility, and privilege to "honor the Lord with their Substance." While its contents were originally used in the pulpit, church papers, and tracts during the twenty years' service of the author as Secretary of the Home Mission Board, its influence reaches far beyond the scope of Home Missions. To quote from the preface: "These chapters are broader than Home Missionary interests. They are intended to cultivate that deep sense of stewardship which embraces all church work." The book is full of the breadth, sympathy, and devotion of the author, whose loyalty to his Church, fidelity to his Lord, and abundance of good works have won for him universal esteem.

As one reads the crystal epigrams, the crisp sentences, the paragraphs packed with pertinent facts, not a useless word in the book, he seems to hear the author address a synod, a classis, or an intently listening congregation. Rarely is one able to write as he speaks, an art which Superintendent Whitmer has mastered. He presents truth in forms of beauty.

The book has been widely circulated the last two years, but it should not remain idle on the shelf. It deserves to be continually spread among the members of congregations, the officers of consistories, and of course will always be a source of material for the practical work of the minister.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH. By John Edgar McFadyen, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Language, Literature, and Theology. United Free Church College, Glasgow. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. Price 90 cts. net.

This excellent little hand-book belongs to "The Bible for Home and School," published under the general editorship of Professor Shailer Matthews, of the University of Chicago. Like the rest of the series, its aim is to place the results of the best modern biblical scholarship at the disposal of the general reader. The introductions—for there are three of them—are excellent; and they give just such information concerning the authorship, the occasion, the purpose, and the contents of these prophecies as the general reader of the Bible needs.

As is well known, the problems of the book of Isaiah are very numerous; and the volume before us gives very little more than the results at which modern biblical scholarship has arrived. Processes, which justify these results, are necessarily excluded.

The author is frank to acknowledge that "frequently the data are so slender and capable of so various interpretations that those results are very far from certain." Not infrequently, where two scholars adopt the same critical methods, they differ by half a millennium in their estimate of the date of a passage; and hence it is quite clear that "we are yet a long way from unanimity."

According to Professor McFadyen, the entire book of Isaiah falls into three parts. The first, comprising chapters 1–39, contains the prophecies of Isaiah, and belongs to the eighth century B.C.; the second, comprising chapters 40–55, called "the Exiles' Book of Consolation," contains the messages of the Deutero-Isaiah, belongs to the period of the Babylonian Captivity, and is hence two centuries later than the first; while the third, here called the Trito-Isaiah, comprising chapters 56–66, belongs to a period eighty or ninety years later than the second, and like the first presupposes a Palestinian background. Each part has an excellent introduction.

The text of the Revised Version is given, accompanied by brief but pointed comments. Altogether the book makes an excellent popular hand-book; and we commend it to the general reader of the Bible, and especially to the Sunday-school teacher.

Wm. C. Schaeffer.

Writing on the Clouds. By Arthur Newman. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Company. Cloth. Pages 91. Price $1.00.

Thirteen short chapters on as many different religious subjects comprise the contents of this beautiful and readable little book. They are studies of biblical topics which may have served a pastor's purposes in regular pulpit ministrations. They bear the marks of a mind that is not fettered by conventional methods, and that has the power of stating truths as seen in a way at once forceful and strikingly attractive. The book is meant to emphasize the broad, balanced, and complete revelation of the Christian Scriptures in the light of present-day knowledge, and to afford help toward the solution of some of the problems which confront men at this time, in the home, in the Church, and in the state. The author has unusual skill in *suggesting,* instead of formally and explicitly *stating,* the conclusions which he wishes his readers to share with him. In this regard he acts upon the best principles governing wise teachers. Readers will find in the pages of this volume, lucid expositions of interesting and important passages of the Scriptures, wise counsel for the guidance of personal and social conduct, and sound comfort for hours shadowed by distress and sorrow. In filling these offices, the book serves ends that are worth while, and at the same time reenforces strongly the spiritual structure of the Christian faith.

A. S. Weber.

THE REVELATION OF PRESENT EXPERIENCE. By Edmund Montgomery. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Company. Cloth. Pages 92. Price 90 cents.

The author of this brilliant outline of a scientific world-conception is a thorough-going evolutionist. Instead of basing his philosophical interpretations upon conceptual premises intuitively arrived at, or on mere mythical fancies traditionally consecrated —methods which he thinks are bound to lead all thought astray— he proposes to build on the present experience of cultured men, an experience due exclusively to the sentiency and consciousness of the human organism, and commensurate with the collective results attained in the various provinces of scientific research. The evolutionary process which has issued in the present experience of scientifically enlightened thinking, is interestingly followed from its beginnings in the earliest discoverable stages of animal development, on to the lofty attainments which now afford men an ever-widening outlook into the higher reaches of life and its meaning. The "comparative considerations" given by the author to "idealistic" philosophers and their systems, in the course of his scientific discussions, and the bearing of his contentions on current ethical and theological ideas, are features of these pages that lend them an uncommonly striking and valuable importance. The amount of enlightening biological and philosophical information crowded into the little volume is altogether out of proportion to its size and cost, and, whether or not one is prepared to accept its conclusions, it will richly repay one for devoting the time needed for so doing to its careful study.

A. S. WEBER.

THE FACTS OF FAITH. By Charles Edward Smith, D.D. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Company. Cloth. Pages 90. Price 80 cents.

One of the books in the library of the late Rev. William M. Reily, Ph.D., and highly prized by him, was "The World Lighted," an earlier work by the author of the present volume. The vigor and lucidity of his literary style, the profound insight with which he held to the mystical elements in the Scriptures, particularly of St. John's writings, and the forcefulness with which he mustered arguments in defense of his contentions, appealed strongly to this departed ministerial brother of our Church. In *The Facts of Faith* these characteristics of our author are in evidence on every page. We know of no volume in which such an array of facts in defense of the faith is brought together, and none in which such facts are so clearly and forcibly set forth. Robert Browning, he tells his readers in his "Foreword," once wrote to a friend, "I want you to give my convictions a clinch," and the purpose he has in view in writing this little book is to 'clinch' the Christian convictions in the minds of his readers. Face to face with "the giant fire-crackers of infidelity" which

unnecessarily alarm many, they will be glad to welcome, he thinks, the testimony concerning facts of faith of one who is assured of them beyond reasonable doubt, and therefore rests upon them without misgiving. The book is abundantly worth possessing by every minister, and is well suited to hand to friends who are assailed by religious or doctrinal doubts. The clearness of its thought, the brevity and precision of its statements, and the cumulative potency of its argument, combine to make it a very useful and important contribution to apologetic literature.

A. S. WEBER.

BELIEF IN A PERSONAL GOD. By A. v. C. P. Huizinga. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Company. Cloth. Pages 52. Price 50 cents.

This brief essay deals with one of the highly important topics of current theological discussion. Its author shows a wide acquaintance with contemporary tendencies of thought, and possesses a master's ability for showing which of them are, and which are not, making for the conservation of the faith once delivered to the saint. His criticism of "the preacher-journalist" Lyman Abbott's statement, made some time ago, that "he believed God to be impersonal," is animadverted on with keen incisive severity, its misleading and pernicious effects on morals and religion pointed out, and the validity of the orthodox conception of the Divine Personality defended with convincing vigor. He shows conclusively that the disregard of the personal God revealed in Christ results in belittling conscience, destroying its authority, and reducing morality to a mere conventionalism. Inward religion always centers on an acknowledged responsibility to a personal God. These convictions he defends with pertinent and cogent utterances gathered from the writings of many of the mighty characters whose names and services adorn the history of Christianity. He laments that an impersonal, undefined, sentimental pantheism, through an undue and one-sided emphasis of the divine Immanence, is rapidly finding its way into the Church and rendering it powerless in the community as an organ for righteousness. The timeliness of the author's discussion of this topic, the philosophic and theological and literary learning which he brings into his service, and the full-hearted conviction with which he speaks for the personality of God, give great value to his pages—a value entirely disproportionate to the size and inexpensiveness of the volumes. It deserves to be carefully studied.

A. S. WEBER.

COMMENTARIES ON SIN. By George Frederick Jelfs. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Company. Cloth. Pages 105. Price $1.00.

One reading this book is likely to conclude that the author of it is not a clergyman and not a theologian. He is, however, thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures, knows the estimate

put on them by critico-historical research, and has the courage of stating his own radically negative position plainly and without hesitation. His object in writing these commentaries is to give publicity to his reasons for believeing that "men will never succeed in doing God's will and become righteous so long as" certain theological errors concerning sin continue to exist unchallenged and unrevised. Among the six errors indicated, the first is "that sin originated with 'Adam's Fall' as reported in the Book of Genesis," and the third, "that in doing evil men sin against God." Jesus, in his judgment, sought to deliver men from these errors, but the trend of his instructions was turned back into the old Hebrew channels by the Jewish prepossessions of Paul whose views concerning sin and redemption came to prevail in the Church rather than those of its original Founder. An entire chapter—perhaps the most important one in the volume—is devoted to an inquiry into Paul's Doctrine of Redemption. It need not be said, that from the author's view-point, that doctrine is not accepted by him—"it is based," he says in words quoted with his approval—"on Jewish preconceptions which have neither validity for us nor foundation in the personal religion of Christ." He apprehends that maledictions against him will be poured out on him by "old orthodox believers of all sorts for having attempted to discredit and deprive them of their only spiritual comfort." But he believes, and therefore has spoken, that in the interests of righteousness Paulinism should be overthrown. He "firmly believes that with every manifestation of the errors considered, the progress of humanity in morality and Christianity has suffered a check, and that unless men revise their beliefs and give a new meaning to their religion, they may be faithful followers of Paul, but have no better claim to the title of Christians than the Jews or the Mohametans."

A. S. WEBER.

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN ACCOUNT WITH RELIGION. By Edward Mortimer Chapman. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910. Pages 578. Price $2.00 net.

The volume before us contains a series of brilliant essays in which the influence of religion on the literary characters and movements of the nineteenth century is clearly traced. The purpose of the book is not to expound the "religion" of this poet, or to define the "faith" of that novelist, as many have attempted in recent years, but rather, as we are told in the Preface—"to set forth something of the debt which Literature owes to Religion for its subjects, its language, its antagonisms and inspirations, as well as in many cases for the training of its writers; while on the other hand to suggest the debt which Religion as indisputably owes to Literature for the extension of its influence and the humanizing of its ideal." This two-fold purpose was first pursued by the author in a number of lectures delivered at Yale in 1906. The further

development of his studies along these lines resulted in the present volume.

Mr. Chapman is one who can speak with authority on literary subjects. His work is characterized by a superior style, and throughout we are made to realize that we are following the mature criticisms of a mind keenly sensitive to literary values. Furthermore, he has a deep appreciation of the fundamental verities of Christianity. Since great literature relates and preserves in artistic form the deeper experiences of life, and as religion is one of the real and determining factors in these experiences, it must be taken into account by the student of literature. Natural environment will not explain everything, as M. Taine supposed and almost convinced the world in his "History of English Literature." Mysterious spiritual forces which spring from a living faith influence literature, because they mold life, the subject-matter of literature. There is an "accounting" therefore between the two. This, in brief, is the thesis of the book.

The author is happy in the selection of chapter subjects. The chapter dealing with Wordsworth and Coleridge is termed "The Sons of the Morning." Byron and Shelly are called "The Apostles of Revolt," and Carlyle and Ruskin the "Elijah" and "Elisha" respectively of their day. Tennyson and Browning appear under the title, "The Great Twin Brethren."

The chapters devoted to fiction are particularly interesting. Almost every page contains suggestive ideas of far reaching importance. For example, in explaining the humor of the great novelists he shows that it has a religious foundation. "True humor, then, whereby I mean that which not only tickles fancy's palate to quiet mirth, but also leaves so sweet a taste as to make rumination pleasant—must depend for its wholesomeness upon faith. . . . The essence of humor is a fairly confident attitude toward the confusion of events. Take away a man's faith in God and his own soul, supply its place with a theory of the malignant lordship of chance, and his laughter must lose its heartiness, while his smile fades into wistfulness or scorn." Although much of modern fiction is darkly tinged with skepticism, it unconsciously bears witness to the necessity of faith. A case in point is that of the novelist Phillpotts, an active member of a rationalistic society, who whenever he draws strong characters has recourse to men and women of faith. "In fiction as in life some faith seems needful for ultimate conquest of circumstances."

This original and stimulating volume is a distinct contribution to the subject essayed and amply warrants a careful reading.

LEE M. ERDMAN.

THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

No. 2.—APRIL—1911.

I.

WERE THE EARLY OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS WRITTEN IN THE BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE AND THE CUNEIFORM SCRIPT?

ALVIN SYLVESTER ZERBE.

Since the discovery of the Amarna Letters, the opinion has gradually gained ground that Moses and the early Old Testament writers employed the Babylonian-Assyrian language and the cuneiform script for literary purposes. The cuneiform script was current in Palestine from the middle of the third millennium down to and including the Amarna period. How much later is a matter of dispute. The recent discovery of the Gezer and other cuneiform inscriptions would indicate that here and there the Babylonian language was employed after the occupation by the Israelites. As one's position on this subject will determine in some measure his attitude on the antiquity of Hebrew literature in general and the character of Mosaic literature in particular we inquire into the facts.

1. The Library Chest of Tell Taanach.

The cuneiform tablets discovered at Tell Taannek, the Biblical Taanach, in the plain of Jezreel, prove, it is alleged, that the Babylonian language was employed quite generally in

Canaan some time after the Amarna period. Ernst Sellin, a German archæologist, unearthed, in 1902–1904 the ancient city, which flourished from 2000 to 600 B.C. In one of the structures, identified through the peculiar stone architecture as old Canaanite, Sellin found a library chest of the Prince of Taanach, which contained several clay tablets recording the names of persons. Near-by, two letters and other inscriptions on clay tablets were discovered. The writing is in the Babylonian language and script. Sellin conjectures that originally the library contained other valuable writings which by some mischance were lost. (See *Tell Taannek,* von E. Sellin, Wien, 1904. Also, *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Taannek in Palaes.*)

From internal evidence, Sellin assigns the tablets to a period some fifty years after the Amarna Letters. It is of the greatest significance, he remarks, that the correspondence between the native princes was in the Babylonian language, for hereafter no one can affirm that the cuneiform was used only in foreign correspondence, and not among the people. Though the large tablets are greatly mutilated, it is certain that they contain lists of names sent to the ruler of Taanach. According to Sellin, the paramount value of the discovery lies in the fact that writing was carried on extensively in the cuneiform script in a country district of Palestine. The tablets render it clear that Babylonian was known to the scribes of a Canaanite town in 1350 B.C.; but do they prove that the men of Taanach did not speak the Canaanite language or write in the Phœnician script? Not at all. The fact that many German books are published in this country is not a proof that English is not the language of the United States. We must suppose that the Canaanite language of this date (as also the Hebrew, if the Exodus had already taken place), the language of the mass of the people, was sufficiently distinct from the Babylonian, to be regarded as a separate language with its own script. Nothing in the above tablets indicates that when the people of Taanach or any other Palestinian town wrote they employed the cuneiform script.

2. The Gezer Cuneiform Tablets.

The Panbabylonists claim to have received strong support from some recently discovered cuneiform tablets in Palestine. Of these, the most important, perhaps, are the Gezer tablets found by Macalister. They are deeds of the sale of land, which are supposed to have been prepared for ancient dwellers of the place. "The dates of these documents are 651 and 649 B.C. and they prove that under Ashurbanipal, fields at Gezer, one of which belonged to a man with a Jewish name Nathaniah, were sold, and the sales were registered according to Assyrian formulas in the Assyrian language and in the one case by a notary with so unmistakable an Assyrian name as Nirgal-Sharzzur" (G. A. Smith). This discovery shows that the Assyrian language was used in a town some twenty miles from Jerusalem as late as the middle of the seventh century B.C. (*i. e.*, on the assumption, denied by some, that the tablets were produced in Gezer, and not carried thither from some other place). But it does not prove that the cuneiform was then or at any time ordinarily employed by the people of Gezer.

We may account in several ways for the use of the Assyrian language in these tablets. Although Gezer was a Levitical city, it did not come permanently into the possession of the Israelites until the time of Solomon (Josh. 21: 21; 1 K. 9: 16). Afterward, during the Assyrian domination, it became a seat of Assyrian influence and of the Ashtoreth (Astarte) religion. In fact Macalister was so fortunate as to find the foundation of the temple of Astarte in Gezer. "Gezer down to the Babylonian Exile was a center of the Baal-Ashtoreth cult" (G. A. Barton, *Bib. World,* XXIV, 167–9. See, further, Macalister, *Pal. Ex. F. Quar. St.,* October, 1902). All this implies an influential, if not a large Assyrian population; there need be no surprise, therefore, at the use of the Assyrian language under the circumstances; but it must have been exceptional in Palestine.

The political and religious situation in Judah in the seventh century throws light on the subject. The early years of the

long reign of Manasseh (697–641) witnessed the introduction of Assyrian customs. The armies of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal overran all Palestine. Ahaz had imported Assyrian models in the furnishings of the Temple, and Manasseh "reared up altars for Baal and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them" (2 K. 21: 3). Assyria being dominant, it is natural that here and there Assyrian soldiers should remain in Palestine and retain for a while their mother tongue. It is even possible that not a few settled there, or that an Assyrian garrison was quartered there, as suggested by Gray.[1] Benzinger, however, holds that the custom of writing such compacts in the Assyrian language in Palestine dates from an early period and that the hypothesis of an Assyrian garrison fails to meet the conditions of the case. (See *Heb. Archæol.*, 2te Auf., S. 177.) But the influence of the Assyrians in Palestine and the tendency to ape foreign customs would encourage the use of the Assyrian in a transaction to which one of the parties was an Assyrian. So much certainly must be granted; but this is far from proving the proposition that the Assyrian language was at this time employed by the Israelites in general. In fact the Gezer Calendar tablet written in archaic Hebrew letters and the recently discovered Samaria ostraca are incontrovertible proof that the Hebrews two centuries before the date in question employed in public as well as private affairs the Hebrew language and script.

3. Babylonian Language among the Hebrews in Assyrian Period.

The advocates of the Panbabylonist hypothesis derive alleged support from the state of religion and society in Israel in the so-called later Assyrian period (735–606). According to Benzinger, "in the period of dependence on Assyria (since Jehu)

[1] "What more probable than that an Assyrian garrison was resident there and that Assyrian parties to the deed of sale employed an Assyrian notary" (G. B. Gray, *Expositor*, May, 1909).

the cuneiform writing again came into use; when Jehu paid tribute to Assyria, the two courts must have had regular communication and this was naturally in the cuneiform script. . . . But the cuneiform was also the script of law and tribunals, and not merely of international communication. Just as kings and princelings in the Amarna age had secretaries who could conduct correspondence in this foreign language, so there were at tribunals (in Israel) similar learned scribes. But the writing at tribunals is the sacred writing, for justice is a part of religion, in Israel as elsewhere. It is in fact the writing of God (Ex. 31: 18; 32: 16). It is therefore the writing of the learned. . . . In Israel as in Babylonia the alphabetic script was in early times the *vulgar* script, which served originally the purposes of business life. It was at the same time the national script in opposition to the cuneiform, because it allowed the use of the native language. . . . Josiah's reform, which at the same time implied a breaking away from Assyria, may also have signalized the end of the cuneiform script and the recognition of the national alphabet. That Jeremiah wrote the purchase deed of his land in cuneiform is scarcely probable" (*op. cit.,* 177). Winckler, however, goes the whole length of the hypothesis and holds that Jeremiah employed the cuneiform.

The points of special interest in Benzinger's position are that among the Hebrews the Phœnician script was at first and indeed for an indefinite period regarded as a "vulgar" or "demotic," and the cuneiform as the "official" or "sacred" script; and that only at a late date (just before the Exile) was the cuneiform supplanted by the Hebrew script. This brings up the question, whether the Hebrews ever had a hieratic script? The hypothesis of a variety of scripts in Israel is not in itself impossible or without precedent. The Egyptians had a sacred script, employed by the priestly class, and a demotic, or vulgar script in use among the people. Other instances might be cited, but the custom is exceptional. That the He-

brews ever made such a distinction is improbable, and awaits decisive evidence.[2] Is there such?

A passage in Isaiah, always variously interpreted, is now cited in support of the new view. In 8: 1 we read: "Take thee a great tablet and write with the pen of a man, etc." The Revised Version, margin, has "in common characters." What is the meaning of this? Evidently the "great tablet" is a tablet of wood, stone, clay or metal sufficiently large to contain an inscription to be set up in a public place and easily read by the people. The writing with "the pen of a man" was understood by all the older authorities as denoting large and plainly written letters in the archaic Hebrew script. According to Dillmann it is "the script cut with a stylus, *i. e.,* characters which the common man (Deut. 3: 11; 2 S. 7: 14; Hos. 6: 7) can read; probably not in contrast with a smaller cursive script of the learned, or even in the archaic Hebrew script compared with the Aramaic, but simply in a plain script easily read by the people" (*Kom.* p. 76). The natural meaning is that the prophet shall write the message in clear and bold characters.

In opposition to this we are told: "The prophet Isaiah is expressly commanded to write in the 'script of a man' that is in the *vulgar* [Phœnician] script" (Benzinger). The same opinion is expressed by Jeremias, who suggests that if the phrase "the pen of a man" designate the archaic Hebrew script in contrast with the cuneiform, the latter in Isaiah's time would be regarded as a sacred or hieratic script. In that event, says Jeremias, the words, "graven upon the tables" (Ex. 32: 16), would be a circumlocution for "cuneiform script" (A. Jeremias, *Das. A. T. im Lich. d. Orients,* 424). Neither Benzinger nor Jeremias offers any direct proof that any such distinction ever obtained in Israel.

[2] The alleged Hebrew custom is really not parallel to the Egyptian, for while in the latter case various scripts were employed to write the same language, in the former it is the Babylonian language and script which are said to be "sacred" and the Hebrew language and script "vulgar" or "demotic."

If we understand Benzinger and Jeremias they intend (logically) to convey the impression that the prophet, if not otherwise directed, would have employed the Assyrian language in announcing the prophecy, and this would imply that his prophecies were written in that language. Is this probable? Is there anything to support such a view? Is there a shadow of proof that the prophets ever employed the cuneiform? In any event prophecies written in a foreign tongue and script would have been sealed letters to the people.

Benzinger and Jeremias adopt substantially the hypothesis announced by Hugo Winckler several years ago, that the cuneiform was employed by the Hebrews until about the time of the Exile. His thesis runs thus: The alphabet was employed in Canaan as a "vulgar" script in contrast to the cuneiform, the script of government and letters. The demotic script sustained the same relation to the cuneiform as the language of the people in the Middle Ages to the Latin of the learned professions, the alphabet being employed from the first for the popular language, that is Canaanite, and then Hebrew and Aramaic.[3] Winckler allows that meanwhile the Phœnician script was used in the "monumental records" of the kings, but that this does not imply its use as the medium of expression in education and religion. One may ask Why not? If it could be employed in the former case, why not in the latter? The Gezer Calendar tablet, as well as the Jeroboam and other early seals, clearly refute Winckler. One can indeed, says W. Winckler, compose government orders and historical reports in a cultureless language, but not real literature. But surely the Hebrew of the David-Hezekiah period was as perfect and highly cultivated a language as the Assyrian of that age; and as to literary quality the early Old Testament books are at least on a par with, if not superior to, the best Assyrian literature.

[3] See "*Der Gebrauch der Keilschrift bei den Juden,*" in *Altorientalische Forschungen,* III, 165–76, von H. Winckler.

4. No Babylonian Influence in Early Regal Period.

Even if it be found that Assyrian influence in Israel in the time of Jehu and Hezekiah may have led to the use of the Assyrian language in diplomacy, no trace of such tendency exists in the pre-Assyrian period (1037–875). The Hebrews were left to develop their own national life and consciousness without any perceptible foreign interference. This is the period in which they cultivated in a special sense their native literature, historical, prophetical, poetical. The language was the Hebrew, the script the Phœnician. This is shown epigraphically by the Siloam inscription (700 B.C.), the Gezer Calendar Tablet (800), the Samaria Ostraca (850), the Jeroboam Seal (900), and indirectly by the Moabite Stone (900) and the Baal Lebanon inscription (1000).

There is absolutely no trace in any inscription thus far unearthed, that the Hebrews of this period employed the cuneiform in their literature. Even Benzinger and Winckler concede that "the earliest extant monuments in the alphabetic script," prove a temporary decline in Assyrian influence after 1000. But Benzinger holds that this by no means proves that the cuneiform "disappeared from religious use in the temple and from official use in legal documents." What evidence does he offer that the *Keilschrift* still retained (if indeed it ever acquired) a footing in Israel? None whatever.[4]

Lately two English scholars, Col. C. R. Conder and Prof. A. H. Sayce, have defended (independently, it seems) the view that at least the early Old Testament books were composed in the Babylonian-Assyrian language and the cuneiform script.

1. *Conder's Argument from Proper Names.*—Conder argues that the forms of some proper names "seem to suggest that the character used in the original tablets of the law, and in their early chronicles on clay was the cuneiform script which prevailed in the days of Moses" (*The First Bible,* p. 95).

[4] It is not unlikely that the scribes and men of letters in Israel from Abraham to Moses, Joshua, David and Hezekiah understood the cuneiform; but the contention here is that the Old Testament is a native product written originally in the Hebrew language and script.

He holds that the variant orthography of Azariah and Uzziah,[5] Michal and Merob, Bathsheba and Bathshua, and a dozen other proper names is due to scribal mistakes in reading the value of the cuneiform signs.

Conder's view that the "Osnapper" of Ezra 4: 10 is really an alternative reading of the cuneiform signs for Assurbanipal[6] is probably correct.

Having examined some twenty proper names, Conder reaches the conclusion that the Hebrews knew at least two scripts from the time of Solomon, one, the cuneiform, "the divine writing," the other, the Phœnician, "the writing of common men." "The discrepancies in personal names, and in other words not of common occurrence, indicate clearly that a character was in use which was not alphabetic, and in which the signs had more than one sound. . . . The uncertainties are clearly traced, on the assumption that this character was the Babylonian cuneiform" (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

Conder's examples are too few to warrant the hazardous conclusions drawn by him. It would seem that foreign proper names were often either differently pronounced or imperfectly understood by Biblical writers, and so confusion would naturally arise. In a few cases the discrepancy may be due to a mistaken reading of a cuneiform text; but neither Benzinger nor Conder has shown that any Old Testament book or any part thereof was composed in cuneiform.

2. *Hebrew Text Paraphrased from an Assyrian Original.*— A somewhat similar type of Panbabylonism has recently been

[5] This king's name occurs in the records of Tiglath Pileser III as *'Az-ri-ya-a-hu.* But the sign *ri* has also the sound *es* and *sa,* so that the reading *'Az-sa-ya-a-hu,* or Uzziah is also possible.

[6] The name Assurbanipal does not occur in the Bible, but Conder reproduces cuneiform signs which might be read *Assurbanipal* or *Asnapper.* Though the letter of which Ezra 4: 10 forms a part was written in the Aramaic language and script, Conder writes: "The letter itself would probably be in cuneiform; for the Babylonian type of this script was commonly employed for official documents by the Semitic subjects even of the Persian Artaxerxes I. Such letters were copied in many known cases, and a copy seems to have fallen into the hands of the Jews" (*op. cit.*, p. 111).

championed by Professor A. H. Sayce, who comes forward with the hypothesis that "if there are any records in the Old Testament earlier than the time of David they will have been written on clay tablets in the Assyrian language and script. And careful investigation of the text of the books of the Old Testament brings phenomena to light which can be explained only on the supposition that the Hebrew text has been translated or paraphrased from an Assyrian original" (*Homiletic Review,* LX, pp. 100–4). Examining the text of the Old Testament with the view of discovering how far it can readily be turned into Assyrian, he claims to have found a number of words which imply an Assyrian original. Thus the confusion of Ham and Ammi, Zuzim and Zamzumin, in Gen. 15: 5 and Deut. 11: 29 is supposed to imply a translation from the Assyrian. In Gen. 11: 29 the phrase "the father of Iscah" is but a repetition of "the father of Milcah" through failure to note that the same cuneiform character has the phonetic value of both *is* and *mil.*

Commenting on 2 S. 8: 1 ("David took the bridle of the mother city out of the hands of the Philistines"), Sayce writes: "Metheg-ammah has no sense in Hebrew, and the attempts to explain it have consequently been failures. The two words, however, are simply a transliteration of two Assyrian words which signify 'the military road of the mainland' of Palestine." But the words, literally "the bridle of the mother city," may be used metaphorically in the sense of authority, jurisdiction, as indicated in the parallel passage 1 C. 18: 1, "David took Gath and its towns out of the hands of the Philistines." The passage is not decisive for the new view.[7]

Something can be said in favor of Sayce's explanation of the *crux* in Gen. 4: 22, "a hammerer of every artificer in bronze and iron." According to Sayce, "the two Hebrew words for "hammerer" and "artificer" are alike translations of the

[7] A similar expression, "holding the bridle of countries," is found in Arabic writers. See Lane, *Arabic Lexicon,* 1249; Shultens on Job 30: 11, and Koehler, *Gesch.,* II, 244.

same Assyrian original; they were alternative renderings which were subsequently combined in the same text."

Professor Sayce has worked in this field many years and discovered some strange phenomena, but, as he himself says, "the work is far from finished and it is too early to announce results"; nevertheless, from less than a score of passages presented thus far, he would have us accept the sweeping generalization that by his discovery "the foundations of the Higher Criticism and its theories will be destroyed together with the originality of the Hebrew text upon which they have been built."

Unfortunately, the same line of argument would prove that the later historical books, no less than the earlier, must have been composed in the Assyrian and afterward translated into Hebrew. Kings and Chronicles exhibit even in greater degree phenomena similar to those which Sayce finds in the Hexateuch, Judges and Samuel. Thus 1 C. 18 (parallel to 2 S. 8) has a number of alternative forms which might with equal plausibility be traced to an Assyrian original. A comparison of Beth-lebaoth, Josh. 19: 6 and Beth-biri, 1 C. 4: 31; of Gath-rimmon,[8] Josh, 21: 25 and Bileam 1 C. 6: 70; of Jokneam,[9] Josh. 21: 34 and Rammono, 1 C. 6: 77 (which are hardly mere scribal errors) might lead one to infer that the discrepancies are due to a misreading of an assumed Assyrian original. Sayce's argument proves too much.

Of the six ways of spelling the name of a Babylonian king in the Hebrew Bible, the form Nebuchadrezzur[10] (Jer. 49: 28), as nearest the Babylonian form, is probably the most correct. It might, therefore, be argued that since this form occurs in Jeremiah, the prophecy was originally written in cuneiform; but nothing could be more inconsequential. Such iso-

[8] If the name be turned into cuneiform, it can be read either *Bil-im* or *Gat-Rimmono.*

[9] The cuneiform might be transliterated either as *Akanam* or *Rammuano.*

[10] The king's name is variously written in the monuments. It is a singular fact that in one of the shorter forms we may read either *Nabu-cu-du-nazar* or *Nabu-cu-dur-iuzar,* which would indicate that the transliteration was not always the same.

lated examples prove merely that now one now another orthography was preferred by Hebrew writers.

While questioning that Sayce has proved his thesis, we allow that he and others have brought support to our contention, that the Hebrew Scriptures, first and last, were composed in the Hebrew language and the archaic Phœnician script, but that at least in the early period, less so in the later, the authors and compilers had access to old sources, sometimes in Assyrian, but usually in Hebrew. We agree with Strack: "Proof is lacking that the Israelites after the Conquest made use of the cuneiform writing in any perceptible degree. The conjecture put forth by Englishmen and by Winckler that the decalog was originally written in the cuneiform script is devoid of the slightest proof" (Herzog, *Real-Encyk.*, 3 ed.).

The preceding inquiry establishes four propositions:

1. The foreign correspondence of Israel (in 1400–600 B.C.) was probably carried on in the Assyrian language and script (exceptionally, perhaps, in the Aramaic language and script).

2. It is not probable that the people as a class understood the Assyrian, or that Hebrew history, legislation, prophecy or literature in general was written in this foreign medium of expression.

3. The hypothesis that the early Old Testament books were composed in the Assyrian language and the cuneiform script is without substantial support.

4. The only conclusion validated by facts is that the books of the Old Testament, early and late, were written originally in the Hebrew language and script, except a few chapters in Ezra and Daniel (in Aramaic).

Central Theological Seminary,
Dayton, O.

II.

IS CHRIST DIVINE?: A STUDY OF THE ARIAN CRISIS.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

Is Jesus Christ as truly divine as he is truly human? That was the question raised by the Arian crisis, and perhaps no more important question has ever been raised in the history of religion. On its answer Christianity itself hangs—whether it is one of many religions, a beautiful ethic, fine sentiments uttered by a Galilean dreamer and prophet, a better Judaism, a better Stoicism, or whether it is the religion of the Incarnation, of salvation from sin, of boundless hope and help for lost men and women, a spring of new life, an evangel for individuals as for nations, a message of light and of healing which proclaims that if the soul gets hold of Jesus Christ the arms of the eternal God himself lifts him up.

I do not think we need be frightened by the remark of the eminent Unitarian Albert Réville, who, like many of his countrymen, long since left Calvin for Socinus, that "if the Deity of Jesus Christ were essential to Christianity, this dogma would not have had a distinct history."[1] Certainly truth may have a history as well as error, and if it is a live truth it will have growth. Historically the only question is: Did the first Christians believe in the divinity of Christ? If so, in what sense and why? If it could be shown that the early Christians never dreamed that Christ was divine except in the sense in which good and great men are divine, that would be a most interesting discovery, a tremendously important fact, and yet it would not necessarily bind our faith. Because in matters of religion the all important thing is, Is it true? not, Has it ever been believed before? If so, when? The early Chris-

[1] *Hist. of Dogma of Deity of Jesus Christ*, trans., London, 1878, 241.

tians were hopelessly divided on important questions, and they believed things which no one believes to-day. The weight placed upon history by Réville and the so-called liberals generally is not misplaced, but is one-sided. It needs balancing by other factors. For the deeper question as to a doctrine is always, Is it true? To answer that history is important, but other things are also important.

The notion of some moderns that Jesus was only a spiritually gifted genius did not exist in the early centuries. Their burden was to reconcile the actual things for which Christianity stood, that there is one God alone, everlasting, loving and working, and that Jesus Christ his Son is divine yet human. In making that reconciliation Christians did not always reach the same result. A very few (who finally slunk away and disappeared) claimed that he was a man and no more, of real human origin, upon whom God descended and made divine at some point in his history. Others went farther and said that Christ was indeed of miraculous birth, but was furnished by God with divinity at his baptism. Others still cut the knot by saying that Christ was God the Father himself in one of his appearances, or manifestations, or unfoldings. These three schools—at least the last two—were all trying to keep Christ divine while preserving their monotheism. Now there was a fourth party, just as strongly monotheistic as the others, who saw the matter, in my judgment, more deeply, more consistently, more in accordance with Christian experience, and, as it happened (and this ought not to be held against them) more in accordance with the noblest things in non-Christian philosophy. This party, starting from a larger conception of God and a finer apprehension of Christ, thought of the latter as existing with and in God and in the eternities, either from eternity absolutely, or as called into being by the will of the Father from his inmost life, and so an actual part of the manifold essence of the one only God, which part for the sake of distinction might be called his Word (Logos), his Wisdom, his World- and Redemption-side, and yet existing not simply in

thought or in figure or as an attribute but in actual hypostatic "personal" union and communion (the word person of course not to be interpreted in the sense of individual, which would give us two or more Gods). According to this school, arithmetically we have only one God, but this one God is not merely an arithmetically one God (Mohammedanism), but a one God in a manifold, complex, rich abundant social life, which in the terms of revelation may be expressed for the lack of a better word in the phrase Father, Son and Holy Spirit; these three existing in a hypostatic essential union and communion in the life of God, of which analogies may be perceived in the intellect, sensibilities and will of man, in the substance, heat and light of the sun. Now it might not have happened that this school was the nearest to Christ, both historically and spiritually. But it actually was so. That is the view of Christ embodied as to its essence in the first three Gospels—I can not stop to prove this, but it is a fact. That is the view underneath the representations in the Acts, that is the view which flowers out in the pastures of Paul, that is the view of Peter, and of course—though not more so in principle, only as to expression—in the writings of John. And when we come to men who may fairly be considered as carrying on this Christian tradition from these sources, with more or less mixture, with more or less fidelity, we meet the same conception, colored by their environment, by their education, by their literary purpose, but the same essential conception of the deity of Christ, one with the Father yet distinct from him, and yet absolutely human: Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius.

In the space at my disposal I can not give my readers a detailed account of the views of these men, but must refer them to any history of doctrine within their reach. Sometimes in caring for monotheism there seems a placing of Christ below God, but at other times the writer shows that he holds Christ as essentially divine in the preëxistent life of the Godhead. It is a part of the Christian doctrine of God that the Father

is the ruler and head and spring of this complex life, and it is not surprising if at times some of this school emphasized that unduly, but the essential thing with them was the oneness of Christ in the eternal ground of Deity, and that part of the Christianity of Christ and the apostles they handed down to us.

It is easy to exaggerate on one side or the other. For instance Réville, pp. 80–81, gives a gross caricature of the views of Origen on Christ, and as his witness is specially important I devote a moment to it.

"Origen was essentially a Unitarian. Stated summarily his views amount to this that Jesus is one of ourselves united to the Deity in the closest manner by his moral sublimity." Jesus "was man, certainly eternal, but only as we are, like us in his nature." This thoroughly shallow view of Origen does him great injustice. The Son is the image of the Father, his crown, his wisdom, his Logos, proceeding from him by a process that is part of the being of God, an eternal generation. He is of one substance with the Father, but is also a distinct hypostasis complete in his own subsistence. "Therefore we worship the Father of truth and the true Son, being two things in hypostasis, but one in sameness of thought and in harmony, one in sameness of will" (*c. Cels.* 8: 12). But he is subordinate to the Father, is not the highest, but so to speak the "second God," dependent upon the Father. This Logos became man, so that we have the God-man (Θεάνθρωπος *de Pr.* 2: 6). There was certainly a variety of elements in the idea of Christ of this marvelously acute, suggestive, many sided thinker, but as to his views of the Logos as being one with the Father in the eternal life of God he was a Trinitarian through and through. Harnack admits[2] that "the whole fulness of the essence of the Deity" is, according to Origen, revealed in Christ. Thomasius, who studied with great care the theological ideas of Origen and set them forth in his book *Origenes,* 1837, thus sums up (p. 150) his idea of the Trinity:

[2] *Hist. Dogma,* II, 375.

There are three divine, independent personalities (hypostases): the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, which constitute the holy trias. What is common to them is the divine being (sein), the θεότης, only with this difference that in the Father it is original-essential and primitive, in the other derived. The Father is the original ground, alone unbegotten, and elevated above both in the measure in which they are elevated over all other beings. The Son is the original revelation of the Father, and the mediator of all farther development of absolute life, begotten from the Father in eternity, therefore less. The Holy Spirit finally is the first revelation of the Son, and holds himself to him just as the Son does to the Father,—the three hypostases therefore being not one (individual or person, Einer) but one (being, Eins). The work of the Father has to do with everything that is, and consists in the communication of being; that of the Son in the communication of reason; that of the Holy Spirit has to do with the saints and completes in them the work of illumination, sanctification and beatitude begun by the Father and mediated through the Son.

O no! Origen had not thought through the Trinity exactly in the same terms as Athanasius, but he was no Unitarian. Réville is slip-shod in other representations as well as in this on Origen, but he does not go as far as Pfleiderer in his "History of Religions," International Congress lecture in Amsterdam in September, 1903, expanded into a book, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ* (1905), who reduces Christ to a level of oriental myths, and throws all his divine attributes into a scrapheap of fables and legends.

There was a class of people in the early Church called dynamistic Monarchians who followed a line of thought concerning Christ which has fascinated many: among others Paul of Somosata, so called from his birth in the Syrian city on the Euphrates, who became bishop about 260 of the most important see of the East, Antioch, then attached to the territory of the famous queen Zenobia of Palmyra, for whom he was a kind of viceregent. For him Jesus was a man and no more as to any essential preëxistence with God. But he was much more than a man—(1) in his miraculous birth, (2) in being from birth anointed with the Holy Spirit, and (3) in having received the Logos or Reason of God, this Logos not being a separate hypostasis in the life of God, but an attribute like the reason in man. On account of these furnishings he was not

only born pure and holy, but he remained thus all his life, achieving a perfect moral union with God. He thus became our Redeemer and won the prize of love. Though Paul thus secured the moral divinity of Christ, if we might so call it, in the strongest way, yet his contemporaries were so dissatisfied with his teachings that they called councils at Antioch to consider them, and as Eusebius says (*H. E.* 7: 29), "his false doctrine clearly shown before all, and he was excommunicated from the Catholic Church under heaven." Many of our modern liberals echo with the necessary variations the ideas of the Samosatan.

There was another man in Antioch, probably born in the same town with Paul of Samosata, who sympathized with his views so far as to withdraw from communion with the bishops who had excommunicated him (Theod. 1: 3), and whom Theodoret makes the spiritual progenitor of Arius and his followers. In the letter of Arius to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia quoted by Theodoret 1: 4 the former calls his friend "my fellow-Lucianist." It is evident therefore that the able presbyter Lucian, the head of an exegetical school in Antioch, was the link betwen Paul of Samosata and Arius. It is probable, says Harnack,[3] that Lucian not only shared the views of his fellow countryman but became the head of the national Syrian part in the Antioch church in opposition to the Hellenistic Roman. However, the agreement could not have been perfect or enduring, for Lucian must have later taught the premundane creation of the Logos and his full personality in the flesh of Jesus. This is shown both by the christological views of his scholars, but also by the different way Eusebius of Caesarea the historian treats him and Paul, whom he looks upon as a dangerous errorist.

Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria, a pupil of Lucian, a bright earnest man, tall, lean, with a somber brow, austere, irreproachable in morals, with a smooth winning address, but ever ready for a theological fight. What his views were he sets

[3] In Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl., 1902, XI, 655.

forth himself in a letter to his friend and sympathizer Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, so interesting and important that I copy it from Blomfield Jackson's translation of Theodoret (1: 4), putting in italics the important parts:

To his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius, Arius, unjustly persecuted by Alexander the pope [bishop of Alexandria], on account of that all conquering truth of which you also are a champion, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

Ammonius my father being about to depart to Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, withal to inform that natural affection which you bear toward the brethren for the sake of God and his Christ, that the bishop greatly wastes and persecutes us, and leaves no stone unturned against us [lit., moves every rope; a common proverb was, to let out every reef, or rope, also, to move everything, χίνειν πὰνχρῆμα]. He has driven us out of the city as atheists because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, viz: God always, the Son always, as the Father so the Son; the Son coexists unbegotten with God; he is everlasting; neither by thought nor by any interval does God precede the Son [it is doubtful if Alexander would have acknowledged this clause]; always God, always Son; he is begotten of the unbegotten; the Son is of God himself. Eusebius, your brother bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotus [bishop of Laodicea in Syria], Paulinus [bishop of Tyre, then of Antioch], Athanasius [bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia, to be distinguished from his great namesake], Gregorius [bishop of Berytus or Beyrout], Ætius [bishop of Lydda], and all the bishops of the East have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of his Son; except Philogonicus, Hellanicus and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and have embraced heretical opinions. Some say that the Son is an eructation, others that he is a production, others that he is also unbegotten. These are impieties to which we cannot listen even though the heretics threaten us with a thousand deaths. But we say and believe, have taught and do teach that *the Son is not unbegotten, not in any part of the unbegotten, and that he does not derive his subsistence from any matter; but that by his own will and counsel subsisted before time and before ages as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable, and that before he was begotten or created, prepared or established, he was not. For he was not unbegotten. We are persecuted because we say that the Son has a beginning, but that God is without beginning. This is the cause of our persecution, and likewise because we say that he is of the non-existent* (ἐξ ουκ ὄντων ἔστιν). And this we say because *he is neither part of God nor of any essential being* (ἐξ υποχειμένου τινος). For this we are persecuted; the rest you know.

I bid thee farewell in the Lord, remembering our affliction, my fellow Lucianist and true Eusebius.

How contradictory! by his own will the Son came into existence, and yet there was a time in eternity when he did not exist.

He is God and yet he is begotten, created and purposed. From other expressions of Arius we learn that he believed that the Son is the Logos and Wisdom of the Father, but not the Logos immanent in God, but only participating in it. The Logos is divine energy, the Son a created divine being, through whom the world is created. Through his enjoyment of the divine favor he received the name God and Son of God. "The Logos is different from and unlike the substance (*ουσια*) and peculiar nature (*ἰδιότητος*) of the Father in all respects."[4] He is by nature mutable, but God saw that he would remain good and conferred upon him in advance the divine glory that he merited. The doctrine certainly is a strange conglomeration. Loofs[5] quotes Hermann Schultz as saying that "it is in content the most baseless and dogmatically worthless of all the Christ-ologies that have ever appeared in the history of dogma," and Schultz is right. A Unitarian scholar and lecturer on Church History in Harvard University, the late Joseph Henry Allen calls it[6] "that nondescript illogical compromise," which made "Christ the Son of God very much in the same way that Jupiter was the Son of Saturn and Mars of Jupiter. If Christians are to worship a divinity who is after all not the supreme God, what are they better than their enemies?" Arius came out with these views about 318.

His great opponent was Athanasius, deacon and later (328) bishop of Alexandria, who stepped forward with a decisiveness and power never known before for the doctrine of the absolute divinity of Christ, a doctrine which as I have said, was in line with the purest and straightest tradition and most in harmony with the New Testament. Partial and defective views passed away—of course, not immediately; but Athanasius's polemic, the precision, fullness, largeness and religious fervor of his defence of the doctrine really created a new epoch in history. I have not space to do justice to his putting of the case. Suffice it to say that, besides a destructive criticism of Arius's views,

[4] Arius, *Thalia,* quoted by Athanasius, *Or. con. Ar.,* 1: 2, § 6.

[5] In Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl., II, 11.

[6] *Ch. Hist.,* I, 110–11.

he founded his own on (1) a constant reference to the Bible, (2) a showing of the necessity of the entrance of God himself into humanity to secure (*a*) the full truth concerning God and divine things, (*b*) fellowship with God, (*c*) the forgiveness of sins and the certainty of salvation, (*d*) immortality of man, and (*e*) that union with God which is the glory of man. By the Incarnation God himself has entered into our race and thereby lifted it up into abiding fellowship. The race as such, therefore, is in a sense a saved and deified race. We have secured grace, righteousness, the Holy Spirit, a new life and with it immortality. It is the religious motive and life which animate the discussions of Athanasius which give them their peculiar appeal. He placed the defense of the divinity of Christ where every true Christian, it seems to me, must feel that it belongs. As long as Christianity is the religion of redemption, of salvation, of communion with God, and of eternal life, then it must be the religion of the Incarnation; and if so, the men who saved that religion in the Arian crisis wrought a work of inestimable value for the human race.

But did not Constantine save it at the Council of Nicea? No. The pen of Athanasius and the truths he stood for were worth all the Constantines and councils in the world. I can not go into that council (325), except so far as to say that there were three creeds presented. First, Arius presented his creed, but so far was it from meeting the assent of the assembly that they would not give it the courtesy of a hearing through. Poor Arius! Where were all the bishops of whom he boasted in his letter quoted a moment ago? One would suppose from that letter that his creed represented an opinion quite universally held. Where is his following now? Gone, leaving not a wrack behind. Then the middle party presented a creed through the historian Eusebius of Cæsarea, who said that it was the basis of instruction in his church (Theod. 1: 11), and which as the creed on which the majority in the Council were ready to unite, ought to be laid before the reader.[7]

[7] Text in app. to Athan., *De Decretis,* Socr., 1, 8, etc.

We believe in one God almighty Father, the creator of all things visible and invisible, and in the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, the first born of all creation, begotten by God the Father before all times. By him have all things become, who for our salvation became flesh and lived among men; who suffered and on the third day rose from the dead, who went up to his Father and will come again in glory to judge the quick and dead. We believe also in the Holy Spirit. Even so we believe that each one has his own being, that the Father is really Father, the Son really Son, the Holy Spirit really the Holy Spirit, as our Lord in sending out his disciples to preach also said, Go forth and make disciples of all peoples, through the baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And we are determined to hold and to think, and to remain faithful to this faith until death, as we also anathematize every godless heresy.

Now I think that this is one of the most interesting creeds in the world, the creed of a local church, the unstudied frank confession of multitudes of believers. It shows how little Unitarianism, how little Monarchianism, how little Paul-of-Samosatism, how little of Arianism, there was in the church. It is Trinitarian, it is almost extravagant in asserting the deity of Christ (God of God, Light of Light). The only possible rift within the lute to the Athanasian listeners was the expression, "begotten from the Father *before all times,*" which, though it guarded the absolute essential oneness of Christ with the Father, left a loophole for those who wanted to infer a lower meaning. The Eusebian creed was a thoroughly scriptural and orthodox statement (for instance, "before all times" means in eternity, that is, an eternal begetting, a process involved in the very being of God,—so it might be interpreted; and for "firstborn of all creatures" or creation, see Col. 1: 15 and compare Heb. 1: 5, 6), but it was just because it did not explicitly exclude in so many words another interpretation which the Arians were ready to place upon it—for the ingenuity of theologians who want to press statements to suit themselves is notorious—that the right wing insisted on its modification or enlargement in the interest of perfect protection from Arianism. So the Athanasians pressed through their revisions and won the assent of the emperor and of nearly every man in

the council. As thus changed and finally passed (only two or three men dissenting out of more than three hundred) the creed reads:[8]

We believe in the one God Almighty Father, Creator of all things visible and invisible, in the one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the one only begotten from the Father, and out of the substance (or being, ουσίας) of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, of one substance (ομοούσιον, a word that many balked at on account of its association with patripassion Monarchianism, or Sabellianism, and for which in itself Athanasius did not care if the fact was preserved), through whom all things have become (εγένετο)—all things in heaven as well as those in earth, who for us men and our salvation came down and became flesh, became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, There was when he was not, and, Before he was begotten he was not, and, That he became out of nothing ξ ὐκ ὄντων ἐγένέτο), or those who pretend that he was out of another substance or essence, or that the Son of God is (created) or changeable or alterable,—these the Catholic Church anathematizes.

Why did the middle party give in? The weight of the emperor alone? Hardly. The most of those nearest the emperor were themselves of this party or Arians. He would naturally have sided with them. Besides they were too numerous and too able to be moved by imperial pressure, though the emperor's final decision for the right wing helped the result. Is it not more reasonable and fairer to assume that Eusebius the historian explains the situation when he says in his letter of explanation to his church at Caesarea (Soc. 1: 8) that they received the additions "when on mature deliberation we examined the sense of the words, and they appeared to agree with what we had originally proposed as a sound confession." He speaks of the "caution which has characterized both our examination of and concurrence in these things." In other words the debate had convinced the Origenist party that the additions proposed by the theologians of the right were only the logical carrying out of their own ideas, besides being necessary, on account of the slippery assent of the Arians to the Caesarean symbol, to exclude the leveling down of the Son to a mere creature.

[8] Text in Ath. *De. Decr.*, Theod. 1: 12, Soc. 1: 8, etc.

Harnack, though he admits (IV: 49) that this result "saved the religious conviction that Christianity is the religion of perfect fellowship with God," as over against "a doctrine which had no understanding of the inner essence of religion," claims that the Nicene issue "sacrificed the historical Christ." This was not only not so, but it saved the historical Christ, him of whom the genuine words of history describe as not only Son of Man but also Son of God. Not only so, but if Christianity was to be preserved as a religion of redemption, of salvation from sin, no other result could have been reached. The only dark side to this history is the ingripping of the state in religious matters with the damnable consequences that ensued. But that happened because this drama was played out in 325, and not in this year of grace.

Drew Theological Seminary,
Madison, N. J.

III.

EDWIN MARKHAM, THE POET OF DEMOCRACY.

EDWARD S. BROMER.

As a preliminary statement, a condensed outline of the life of Edwin Markham, the subject of this discussion, should be given. He was born in Oregon City, Ore., April 23, 1852. His parents were frontiersmen. Colonel William Markham, the first cousin of William Penn and likewise confidential secretary of Penn whilst governor of Pennsylvania, was his ancestor. On his mother's side his forbears were Puritans. The family had representatives in the continental army.

Quite early in life he lost his father. The mother with the children moved into central California. Their circumstances were poor; schools were inadequate; and Mr. Markham, the oldest in the family, was brought up a herdsman in the valley of the Suisun hills. He became a prodigious reader, having a passion to know. In order to understand him and his poetry, we must understand his oneness with nature, books and Jesus Christ. These simple elements entered into his early life. The freedom of pastoral life afforded ample opportunity for meditation and response to these great fundamentals.

He worked his way through the ordinary schools of the community and became superintendent of schools in one of the first of the mountain counties. Later he graduated from San Jose State Normal. Afterwards he went to Christian College, Santa Rosa, Cal., and after graduation read law for a while.

He had early come under the influence of the writings of William Morris, of England, and believed in the industrial basis of life. Instead of pursuing law at once, he became a blacksmith and mastered the trade. Longfellow has immortalized the village blacksmith in his poetry, but this blacksmith,

himself the creator of poetry, has immortalized himself in his own song. As Robert Burns sang as he plowed, so Markham made the anvil ring to the music of his soul. The University of California soon discovered him as a man of great force of character and wide intelligence and made him Master of Thompkins Observation School at Oakland.

I have mentioned this early period of his life as necessary to the proper understanding of his poetry. His keen sense of nature and of the meaning of labor, his sympathy with his fellow-men, his direct and natural touch with Jesus Christ and the religion of Jesus, all were formed and developed in this early period when he lived in the loneliness and simplicity of his mountain home. He has one son and of him he has written one of the best of his poems. In 1899 he removed to Brooklyn, N. Y., and subsequently to Staten Island. He first tried New York City but found it intolerable. He is himself only in his country home. As in the West, so in the East, he made his presence felt and was soon well received everywhere. His best known poem is "The Man with the Hoe," published in book form with other verses in 1899. *Lincoln and Other Poems* was issued in 1901 and likewise *Field Folk: Interpretations of Millet.* It is said that there is a more recent volume entitled, *The Poetry of Jesus.*

The closing chapters of Clarence Stedman's *Poets of America* has a section on "Sursum Corde" and another on "Our Novitiate Ended." In these sections Mr. Stedman tries to show that the freedom of American poetry is at hand. The apprenticeship in European methods and models is past. He says in quoting from Dr. Storrs: "Our key-note assuredly should be that of freshness and joy; the sadness of declining races has only the beauty of natural pathos. There is no cause for morbidly introspective verse—no need, I hope, for dilettanteism—in this brave country of ours for centuries to come." In defining the American ideal he further says: "The reason that a decidedly autochthonous kind was not then proffered, unless by Whitman, was that a distinction between the conditions of

England and America was not more strongly established. Since the war our novitiate has ended. We welcome home-productions; our servility to foreign judgment has lessened, and we apply with considerable self-poise our own standards of criticism to things abroad. We have outlived the greed of a childhood that depends on sustenance furnished by its elders, and are far indeed from the senile atrophy which also must borrow to recruit its wasting powers."

Mr. Stedman in these quotations evidently believes that the time for the fulfillment of Emerson's great essay on the American scholar is bound to come. This volume was published in 1899. The closing portion just quoted is a prophecy of American possibilities but with the express statement that America has not yet produced its real distinctive American poetry. In Walt Whitman he finds one who is really indigenous but an artisan in poetry rather than an artist. In 1906 Mr. Stedman wrote to Mr. B. O. Flower, the editor of the *Arena,* after the publication of "The Man with the Hoe": "You have succeeded in understanding and depicting the ambient air, as the French would say, in the life of the greatest poet of democracy in the world, and you have done this by calling attention to the art displayed in Mr. Markham's verses. Now, democracy and art have not previously been found in such close union. Whitman, in spite of his natural charm, vigor, originality, was never an artist in the academic sense and for this reason many critics do not enjoy reading him. For the first time in the history of America we have a poet who brings us a chiselled and statuesque art right out of the soul."

Mr. Flower himself regards Markham most highly and says of him in the *Arena:* "Of our true poets in the new world, Edwin Markham is in our judgment easily the premier. Certainly he is the greatest poet of democracy in our age." David G. Downey in his volume, *Modern Poets and Christian Teaching,* declares that "When we ask, what is his special and central contribution to the thought of to-day? the answer is not difficult. He is the poet of humanity—of man in relations

. . . his Muse is tuned to the key-note of social brotherhood."

The justification of the subject, "Edwin Markham, the Poet of Democracy," is evident. In order to make it clear, it will be developed in four divisions; viz., first, his poetic vision of democracy; second, his sympathy with the masses; third, his conception of democratic service; fourth, his hope for the future. In other words Markham's message will be characterized as one of vision, sympathy, service and hope.

I. Poetry and democracy to some minds seem well-nigh incompatible. Poetry usually means high individualism, culture and special patronage. Democracy means mass-average, social equality, common sense, frequent vulgarity and the fickle rule of public opinion. Is poetry compatible at all with the economic needs and social struggles and the materialistic tendencies of modern life? It is right here that the distinctive feature of Mr. Markham's position in American poetry is manifest. He is a prophet of the reality of poetry in social democracy. Mr. Stedman finds this to be the case in Markham's poetry and declares that in him we have a clearer union of democracy and poetry than ever before realized. In a conversation noted in one of our magazines Mr. Markham is said to have remarked with reference to the possibility of modern poetry that, "Science opens a new mystery for the poet's wonder; history discloses new dramas for his instruction; democracy reveals new ground for his hopes and his prophecy. The world was never before so rich in all the precious seed of poesy. All that is needed for the new prophetic age is that the poets shall appear—men with the far-seeing eye, the passionate heart and the power of coupling words to their loftier uses."

In beginning to illustrate this point, it may be well to delay a moment longer. In Markham poetry and democracy are inseparable. The man is his creed and his creed is his poetry. Democracy for him is a state in which the sovereign power is not only vested in the people as a whole and exercised directly by them or by representatives chosen by them, but is also equally

vested in social and economic management "of the people, by the people and for the people." That is, democracy is not only manifest as a matter of political government but of economic, commercial, industrial and social control for the welfare of the people.

He said at one time in an address in New York City: "I believe Jesus is the supreme Saviour of men. But his Saviourhood must descend into industry. Jesus must be seen as the Saviour of business and until our business is saved, lifted into the sphere of brotherhood, we are not saved. Competition and self-seeking in business are pagan. Business must be coöperative and Christian. Jesus must appear as the Saviour of industry. His spirit must be heard singing in all the wheels of civilization." We can readily see that in this conception we have the possibility of the combination of high idealism with the grim realism of social and economic struggles, aspirations and hopes.

His sense of vision and rhapsody as a poet is associated, as in the call of the poets of old, with a high personal individual exaltation, touch with the infinite source of truth and life in God, direct insight into the heart of struggling, suffering humanity, and the consciousness of a helpful, saving message burning in his soul. Like the Psalmist he might cry out, "My heart was hot within me; while I was musing the fire burned; then I spake with my tongue." Thus in the "Whirlwind Road" we have the exaltation of the prophet on the mount of vision set forth in the spirit of a real revelation:

> The Muses wrapped in mysteries of light
> Came in a rush of music on the night;
> And I was lifted wildly on quick wings,
> And borne away into the deep of things.
> The dead doors of my being broke apart;
> A wind of rapture blew across my heart;
> The inward song of worlds rang still and clear;
> I felt the Mystery the Muses fear;
> Yet they went swiftening on the ways untrod,
> And hurled me breathless at the feet of God.

I felt faint touches of the final Truth—
Moments of trembling love, moments of youth.
A vision swept away the human wall;
Slowly I saw the meaning of it all—
Meaning of life and time and death and birth,
But cannot tell it to the men of Earth.
I only paint the way, and they must go
The whirlwind road of song if they would know.

Compared with this sense of vision there is also a keen realization of mission, nobly voiced in the following lines:

O Poet, thou art holden with a vow:
The light of higher worlds is on thy brow,
And Freedom's star is soaring in thy breast.
Go, be a dauntless voice, a bugle-cry
In darkening battle when the winds are high—
A clear sane cry wherein the God is heard
To speak to men the one redeeming word.

It is an easy matter to put the content of his vision into his own words. Its ecstacy robs it not of its sanity; nor its idealism of its realism; nor its heavenliness of its earthliness. "Always in his thought is the consciousness of the social bond that binds or should bind men into associations and organizations for the common weal." One theme runs through all his work. It has, however, many delightful and suggestive variations. We miss the myriad-mindedness of a Shakespeare, and the comprehensiveness of a Browning, and the rich ornateness of a Milton but nevertheless his Pauline intensity of theme has variations and harmonies which reveal at intervals the full orchestration of human life in its depth, greatness and glory. Nature, human life and religion, all reveal the social bond and declare the social law. Divine fatherhood and brotherhood are written everywhere. This brotherhood is not only political but social and industrial. A religious or political freedom is but the foretaste of economic liberty. The revealed will of God is that all men are brethren and so should live. This is the content of Markham's vision.

The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star is Brotherhood.
For it will bring again to Earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it come, we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for Man.

The vision of Markham is a vision of the Kingdom of God conceived in terms of the teaching of Jesus Christ. Fatherhood and Brotherhood are the key-notes of his song. All men are brethren. The welfare of all the people is the welfare of the average man and it is he that comes to himself in the gospel of Jesus.

Yea, for He comes to lift the Public Care—
To build on Earth the Vision hung in air.
This is the one fulfillment of His Law—
The one Fact in the mockeries that seem.
This is the Vision that the prophets saw—
The Comrade Kingdom builded in their dream.

Into this Comrade Kingdom all are invited and none more earnestly than the poor.

Haste, O people: all are bidden—
Haste from places, high or hidden:
In Mary's Child the Kingdom comes, the heaven in beauty bends!
He has made all life completer:
He has made the Plain Way sweeter,
For the stall is His first shelter and the cattle His first friends.

He has come! the skies are telling:
He has quit the glorious dwelling;
And first the tidings came to us, the humble shepherd folk.
He has come to field and manger,
And no more is God a Stranger:
He comes as Common Man at home with cart and crooked yoke.

As the shadow of a cedar
To a traveler in gray Kedar
Will be the kingdom of His love, the kingdom without end.
Tongues and ages may disclaim Him,
Yet the Heaven of heavens will name Him
Lord of peoples, Light of nations, elder Brother, tender Friend.

II. A man with such a vision of democracy would be false to himself if he were not at one with the people whose days of common good and glory he sees so near at hand. Markham in birth, training and aspiration is a man of the people. Nature knew him as a son and in him every man finds a brother. A casual glance at the list of his poems proves this at once: "The Man with the Hoe," "The Man under the Stone," "The Rock Breaker," "The Sower," "The Builders," "The Angelus," "The Plowman," "The Toilers," etc. To read these poems is to feel the warm inner heart-beat of the masses of Europe and America. In "The Toilers" we at once feel his keen sympathy with all laborers and catch his view-point.

Their blind feet drift in the darkness, and no one is leading;
Their toil is the pasture, where hyenas and harpies are feeding;
In all lands and always, the wronged, the homeless, the humbled
Till the cliff-like pride of the spoiler is shaken and crumbled,
Till the Pillars of Hell are uprooted and left to their ruin,
And a rose-garden gladdens the places no rose ever blew in,
Where now men huddle together and whisper and hearken,
Or hold their bleak hands over embers that die out and darken.

What a beautiful description of the "Plowman" we have in the poem of this title. It has all the abandonment and grace of Burn's most liquid verse.

His furrows are darkening into the hollow,
Lightly behind him the blackbirds follow—
By quick little journeys they follow and whistle.
Now a gossamer ship breaks away to the blue
(Who stands by the railing and waves adieu?)
All night it was moored to a thistle.

Who knows the glad business afoot on the by-way?
Who knows the bold hopes sent adrift on the sky-way?

Millet's "Harvesters" makes him feel the pathos of the agricultural, landless, homeless toilers of Europe and he most truly describes them:

Lo, they had bread while they were out a-toiling in the sun:
Now they are strolling beggars, for the harvest work is done.
They are the gods of husbandry: they gather in the sheaves,
But when the autumn strips the wood, they're drifting with the leaves.
They plow and sow and gather in the glory of the corn;
They know the noon, they know the pitiless rains before the morn;
They know the sweep of furrowed fields that darken in the gloom—
A little while their hope on earth, then evermore their tomb.

Any one who spent his boyhood on a farm and recalls the former days of hand-sowing, scythes and cradles can see the very form of the sower as Markham describes him coming home at the close of the day.

Soon will the lonesome cricket by the stone
Begin to hush the night; and lightly blown
Field fragrances will fill the fading blue—
Old furrow-scents that ancient Eden knew.
Soon in the upper twilight will be heard
The winging whisper of a homing bird.

Who is it coming on the slant brown slope,
Touched by the twilight and her mournful hope—
Coming with hero step, with rhythmic swing,
Where all the bodily motions weave and sing?
The grief of the ground is in him, yet the power
Of Earth to hide the furrow with the flower.

He is the stone rejected, yet the stone
Whereon is built metropolis and throne.
Out of his toil come all their pompous shows,
Their purple luxury and plush repose!
The grime of this bruised hand keeps tender white
The hands that never labor, day nor night.
His feet that only know the field's rough floors
Send lordly steps down echoing corridors.

Yea, this vicarious toiler at the plow
Gives that fine pallor to my lady's brow.
And idle armies with their boom and blare,
Flinging their foolish glory on the air—
He hides their nakedness, he gives them bed,
And by his alms their hungry mouths are fed.

The poem, "The Man with the Hoe," discovered Markham to the world. In a fortnight he became famous. So deeply did his poem strike one of the key-notes of the social discontent that corporations and capitalists were everywhere aroused.

One of them in the New York *Sun* offered seven hundred dollars for the best answer to it. It was awarded to John Vance Cheney. It is sufficient to say that the answer was forgotten almost in its very birth, but "The Man with the Hoe" to-day lives in ever-increasing thousands of humble hearts. Its superscription is a quotation from Genesis: "God made man in His own image, in the image of God made He him." Who that has read these lines will ever forget them?

> Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
> Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
> The emptiness of ages in his face,
> And on his back the burden of the world.
> Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
> A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
> Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
> Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
> Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
> Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?
> Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
> To have dominion over sea and land;
> To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
> To feel the passion of Eternity?

The problem of economic freedom is a deep one. In the lower parts the pressure of the upper currents is so heavy that the struggle often becomes fateful, hopeless and tragical. The poem, "The Man under the Stone," has in mind the Greek myth of Sisyphus, "whose task it was to roll a huge stone up to a hill-top but when the steep was well-nigh gained the rock, repulsed by some hidden force, rushed again headlong down to the plain. Again he toiled at it, while the sweat bathed his weary limbs but all to no effect."

> When I see a workingman with mouths to feed,
> Up, day after day, in the dark before the dawn,
> And coming home, night after night, through the dusk,
> Swinging forward like some fierce silent animal,
> I see a man doomed to roll a huge stone up an endless steep.
> He strains it onward inch by stubborn inch,
> Crouched always in the shadow of the rock. . . .
> See where he crouches, twisted, cramped, misshapen!
> He lifts for their life;

The veins knot and darken—
Blood surges into his face. . . .
Now he loses—now he wins—
Now he loses—loses—(God of my soul!)
He digs his feet in the earth—
There's a moment of terrified effort. . . .
Will the huge stone break his hold,
And crush him as it plunges to the gulf?
The silent struggle goes on and on,
Like two contending in a dream.

But Markham is not hopeless. The day is dawning. The poet is the prophet of the day. Beyond a doubt, the finest of all his efforts is his "Lyric of the Dawn." His sympathy is rooted deep in the worth of the individual and the eternal destiny of the race. As will be noted later, there is in it a combination of three elements that lift it far above mere sentimentalism; namely, a keen realization of a cosmic evolution, an insight into the processes of social development in democracy, and an appreciation of personality and individual leadership as an essential element in progress. Such sympathy lies not on the surface but grows out of the very heart of things.

III. After vision comes sympathy and after sympathy service in the logic of a true life. Markham's is not a disappointment. He grew out of poverty but was always rich in his possession of free mountain air, storms and clouds, blue sky and sunshine, plain simple fellowship with birds, animals and men. After studying law he learned to be a blacksmith because he believed that as a man he should know a first-hand touch with life in its reality of labor and struggle. Even as a boy he knew it as a herdsman in touch with nature and animals. Having had a vision he could say with Paul, "Wherefore, O King, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa, left his flocks to heed the prophetic call. Markham, too, left flocks and herds and ringing anvil to become obedient to the poet's vision and live in the poet's mission. There is not a line of his poetry that is not impressed with the stamp of soul-sincerity and consciousness of message. "Poetry to him is a vocation, a high and heavenly calling, the

fit vehicle for the expression of the truth that will not be silent." Of the poet he says:

> His home is on the heights: to him
> Men wage a battle weird and dim,
> Life is a mission stern as fate,
> And song a dread apostolate.
> The toils of prophecy are his,
> To hail the coming centuries—
> To ease the steps and lift the load
> Of souls that falter on the road.
> The perilous music that he hears
> Falls from the vortices of the spheres.

The law of love and service is his law of life. His vision is but another word for duty. In an address before working-men he once said: "We must find our heaven here in this cold, hard, actual, or we will find it nowhere. We are here in the raw materials of Paradise. What shall we do with the materials?"

He answers very plainly what the poet has to do with the materials. "The Muse of Brotherhood," one of his most characteristic poems, reveals the mission of poets and poetry thus:

> I am in the expectancy that runs:
> My feet are in the future, whirled afar
> On wings of light. If I have any sons,
> Let them arise and follow to my star.
>
> Some momentary touches of my fire
> Have warmed the barren ages with a beam:
> There is no peak beyond my swift desire,
> There is no beauty deeper than my dream.
>
> I make an end of life's stupendous jest—
> The merry waste of fortunes by the Few,
> While the thin faces of the poor are pressed
> Against the panes—a hungry whirlwind crew.
>
> I come to lift the soul destroying weight,
> To heal the hurt, to end the foolish loss,
> To take the toiler from his brutal fate—
> The toiler hanging on the Labor Cross.
>
> I bring to Earth the feel of home again,
> That men may nestle on her warm, still breast;
> I bring to wronged, humiliated men
> The sacred right to labor and to rest.

I bring to men the fine ideal stuff
  The young gods took to build the spheres of old:
The fire I send on men is great enough
  To burn the iron kingdoms into gold.

I hold the way until the bright heavens bend—
  Until the New Republic shall arise,
And quick young deities again descend,
  Bringing the gifts of God with joyous cries.

I lead the Graces and the Winged Powers:
  The world the Anarchs build I will destroy,
For I will storm upon its demon towers,
  With wind of laughter and with rain of joy.

And at the first break of my Social Song
  A hush will fall upon the foolish strife,
As though a joyous god, serene and strong,
  Shined suddenly before the steps of life.

Cold hearts that falter are my only bar:
  Heroes that seek my ever-fading goal
Must take their reckoning from the central star,
  And follow the equator: I am Soul.

My love is higher than heavens where Taurus wheels,
  My love is deeper than the pillared skies:
High as that peak in Heaven where Milton kneels,
  Deep as that grave in Hell where Cæsar lies.

Still hope for man: my star is on the way!
  Great Hugo saw it from his prison isle;
It lit the lighty dream of Lamennais;
  It led the ocean thunders of Carlyle.

Wise Greely saw the star of my desire,
  Wise Lincoln knelt before my hidden flame:
It was from me they drew their sacred fire—
  I am Religion by her deeper name.

With this poem we should also compare "The Muse of Labor," which, however, is so similar that we here only make a passing reference to it.

The poet's task is most heroic. It should have neither the weak sentimentality of youth nor the frail senility of old age but all the elements of prime manhood.

Let trifling pipe be mute,
Fling by the languid lute:
Take down the trumpet and confront the Hour,

And speak to toil-worn nations from a tower—
Take down the horn wherein the thunders sleep,
Blow battles into men—call down the fire—
The daring, the long purpose, the desire;
Descend with faith into the Human Deep,
And ringing to the troops of right a cheer,
Make known the Truth of Man in holy fear;
Send forth thy spirit in a storm of song,
A tempest flinging fire upon the wrong.

IV. Life is not complete without hope. The tendency of a true realism is toward idealism. True service implies a clear ideal, a calling and heroism. These are very manifest in Markham's poetry as noted in the foregoing quotations. One who has had the privilege of fellowship with him in his home says that his personal life is marked by the utmost simplicity and directness, coupled with a passion for service. He conceives the place and mission of the poet clearly and in full coördination with all other callings in life. The social burden must be the burden of all; social freedom the privilege of all; and social progress the blessing of all. The laws of love, sacrifice and service are fundamentals in the great coming Comrade Kingdom. The momentum of the divine life in the midst of the realism of earthy things forever rises in aspirations and hopes and longings for immortality. So, in following the pulse of Markham's theme, we start with a vision, enter into sympathetic touch with man in all his relations, realize much of this earth life of love and service but we likewise feel the law of progress here on earth, looking toward the fulness of the Kingdom and believing in its ultimate triumph on the other side. Markham finds the elements of hope for human life in the things of the spirit and yet for him the spirit in this earth-life is never dissociated from the flesh and he might say with Browning:

Let us not always say,
"Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry, "All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul."

Life for him is a climb as he declares in his poem, "The Climb of Life." It is the dawn that is the promise of the noon-day. It is time complete only in eternity. It is soul-life; therefore, the assurance of immortality. We are not surprised then as we study his poems that we find in him the elements of a Christian. He has hope for man because he believes in God. In one of his conversational utterances he made this remarkable statement: "I believe in religion to the core of my soul. The reasonable religion balances the mind and gives solidarity to character. But I believe in a practical religion, a religion that goes down to the hard ground of practical affairs. The old idea of secular and sacred is passing away; the secular is the only ground for the activities of the divine. There is nothing secular but sin, nothing secular but robbery, and the robbery of the poor by the trusts and combinations is the worst form of robbery. Indeed, the secular is the only ground for all sacred activities. Jesus left the one great command—to build the Kingdom of Order upon the earth." Let us note, then, several of the elements of hope and triumph as he illustrates them in his poetry.

The great problems of humanity are inevitable. We cannot escape them. They are part of the evolution of the race. We cannot shy them if we would.

> Swung in the Purpose of the upper sphere,
> We sweep on to the century anear.
> But something makes the heart of man forebode:
> There is a new Sphinx watching by the road!
> Its name is Labor, and the world must hear—
> Must hear and answer its dread question—yea,
> Or perish as the tribes of yesterday.

However inevitable the question and the difficulty, he believes that "Man is greater than his fate." He is part of the cosmic process that is good and has an upward and forward course. History has in it the germ-life of a reasonable, righteous and loving providence, a cosmic process that moves despite the hindrances which man puts into the way. In the French Revolution and afterward

Man burst the chains that his own hands had made;
  Hurled down the blind, fierce gods that in blind years
He fashioned, and a power upon them laid
  To bruise his heart and shake his soul with fears.

He peered through nature, peered into the past,
  Careless of hoary precedent and pact;
And swore to know the truth of things at last,
  Knelt at the altar of the Naked Fact.

Fact in history and science, however fierce and hard, proved to be his friends. If in Israel's days of old "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," so mankind is discovering that all the powers of the universe are in league and tend upward and onward.

And now the powers of Water, Fire and Air,
  And that dread thing behind the lightning's light
Cry, Master us, O Man, for thou art fair;
  To serve thee is our freedom and our might.

We love the craft that found our hidden place—
  The beauty of the cunning of thy hands;
We love the quiet empire of thy face:
  Hook us with steel and harness us with bands!

Make us the genius of the crooked plow;
  The spirit in the whisper of the wheels;
The unseen Presence sitting at the prow,
  To urge the wandering, huge, sea-cleaving keels.

They come from ocean and the sun's blue tent;
  He lays bright harness on them, and his word;
New pulse from continent to continent
  Runs; the dead places of the world are stirred.

It is the hour of man: new Purposes,
  Broad-shouldered, press against the world's slow gate;
And voices from the vast eternities
  Still preach the soul's austere apostolate.

His evolutionary view of science and law and personality makes him opposed to revolution and anarchy. His position is clearly seen in a little poem addressed to Louise Michael, the anarchist, in which he says to her:

I cannot take your road, Louise Michael,
  Priestess of Pity and of Vengeance—no:
  Down that amorphous gulf I cannot go—
That gulf of anarchy whose pit is Hell.

Yet, sister, though my first word is farewell,
  Remember that I know your hidden woes;
  Have felt the grief that rends you blow on blow;
Have knelt beside you on the murky cell.

Deeper than science, because it is the very life-power of science, is the life of the spirit. Religion is the sum of everything. Nothing is outside her realm. Of the social life of the Kingdom of God he declares, "I am Religion by a deeper name." As above quoted he believes in religion to the core. He conceives of it in terms of personality and social relations. Despite his idea of a cosmic process, his conception of personality rises to the very height of efficiency and importance. He depends on persons for the motive and power of the new redemption in which he so heartily believes. Great commanding personalities, true to God and man, are the instruments used to bring to pass the Kingdom.

Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.

The leaders most needed, on the one hand, are the poets, and, on the other, the men of affairs like Lincoln whom he immortalizes in the greatest known Lincoln poem. The needs are great and equally great must be the men who lead and inspire.

What do we need to keep the nation whole,
To guard the pillars of the State?
We need the fine audacities of honest deed;
The homely old integrities of soul;
The swift temerities that take the part
Of outcast right—the wisdom of the heart;
Brave hopes that Mammon never can detain,
Nor sully with his gainless clutch for gain.
We need the Cromwell fire to make us feel
The common burden and the public trust
To be a thing as sacred and august
As the white vigil where the angels kneel.
We need the faith to go a path untrod,
The power to be alone and vote with God.

Surely the great leader filling such needs will arise in due time at the call of God.

So we await the Leader to appear,
Lover of men, thinker and doer and seer,
The hero who will fill the labor throne
And build the Comrade Kingdom stone by stone.

That kingdom that is greater than the dream
Breaking through ancient vision gleam by gleam—
Something that song alone can faintly feel;
And only song's wild rapture can reveal.

Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morning in his eyes;
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.

Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.
Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, "Thou must!"
He will not say the unjust thing is just.
Nor all the fiends that curse in the eclipse
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry for justice, it will stir the stones
From Hell's black granite to the Seraph thrones!

Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And, carrying in his words the force of song,
Will send a hope upon these weary men,
A hope to make the heart grow young again,
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
Be constellated, stars by circling star;
Give to all mortals justice and forgive:
License may die that liberty may live.
Let love shine through the fabric of the State—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.
Fear not: We cannot fail—
The vision will prevail.
Truth is the oath of God, and, sure and fast,
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the past.

His hope of triumph, rooted in God's cosmic plan and in the poets, prophets and civic leaders called to service from time to time, culminates in Jesus Christ. The Christ who came as the desire of the nations in himself is the great leader who is coming, ever coming as the re-incarnation in the lives of men. Two quotations given above, taken from conversations

of Markham, show the thorough basis of his hope for men in Christ and the Kingdom of God on earth. To be like Christ and to live like Christ among our fellows is the sum of life. In the first quotation he said: "I believe Jesus is the supreme Saviour of men but His Saviourhood must descend into industry. Jesus must be seen as the Saviour of business, etc." In the second he declares, "I believe in religion to the core of my soul . . . but I believe in a practical religion that goes down to the hard ground of practical affairs." Thus, we see that, for him, everything culminates in social brotherhood. His constant prayer is, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven." His poem, "The Desire of the Nations," is headed with a quotation from Isaiah, "And the government shall be upon His shoulder: and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." The spirit of the poem is at once manifest in the first lines:

Earth will go back to her lost youth,
And life grow deep and wonderful as truth,
When the wise King out of the nearing Heaven comes
To break the spell of long millenniums—
To build with song again
The broken hope of men—
To hush and heroize the world,
Under the flag of brotherhood unfurled.
And He will come some day:
Already is His star upon the way!
He comes, O world, He comes!
But not with bugle-cry nor roll of doubling drums.

Nay, for He comes to loosen and unbind,
To build the lofty purpose in the mind,
To stir the heart's deep chord . . .

Throughout the poem we notice that he contrasts His constant coming with His first coming. Thus, He comes not

As of old the glory of the Lord
To half-awakened shepherds in the fields.

Nor as of old when first the Strong One trod,
The Power of sepulchers—Our Risen God!

Nay, nor as when the Hero-King of Heaven
Came with upbraiding to His faint Eleven.

Nor as the carnal kings of old,

Nor as the stumbling foolish stewards dream
In tedious argument and milkless creed,
But in the passion of the heart-warm deed
Will come the Man Supreme.
Yea, for He comes to lift the Public Care—
To build on Earth the Vision hung in air.
This is the one fulfillment of His Law—
The one Fact in the mockeries that seem.
This is the Vision that the prophets saw—
The Comrade Kingdom builded in their dream.

He conceives the life of Christ as shining through the social passion of the race, coming to give us freedom and to give us law. Men shall be made to feel life's oneness and its worth mixed with mystery and awe. On Him, indeed, shall the government be. He shall be the Mighty Counsellor, the Chief, the Prince of Peace.

In this conception of the coming Kingdom he not only clearly sees the place of great personalities and of Christ as the Savior of men but he believes that America in the providence of God has been spared for modern civilization to become the leader of men and hasten the coming of this Kingdom. In the poem, "The Errand Imperious," he says:

But harken, my America, my own,
  Great Mother, with the hill-flower in your hair!
Diviner is that light you bear alone,
  That dream that keeps your face forever fair.

Imperious is your errand and sublime,
  And that which binds you is Orion's band.
From some large Purpose, since the youth of Time,
  You were kept hidden in the Lord's right hand.

You were kept hidden in a secret place,
  With white Sierras, white Niagaras—
Hid under stalwart stars in this far space,
  Ages ere Tadmor or the man of Uz.

'Tis yours to bear the World-State in your dream,
  To strike down Mammon and his brazen breed,
To build the Brother-Future, beam on beam;
  Yours, mighty one, to shape the Mighty Deed.

The armed heavens lean down to hear your fame,
  America: rise to your high-born part!
The thunders of the sea are in your name,
  The splendors and the terrors, in your heart. Etc.

In conclusion, let us recall for a moment the successive points we have had in mind. Markham had a vision of brotherhood in Christ to be complete only in the fulness of the Kingdom of God. He is in sympathetic nearness with his fellow-men, lovable and loving all. He halts not at sacrifice and service but ever exalts the living life of love as the great reality. He is not, however, bound by the things of earth for everything rises to the divine. The future is always open and limitless. Faith struggling in the present realities ever stretches open hands into the infinite. Both here and now, as there and then, his Kingdom as both present and as future, is a Kingdom of social brotherhood. Nowhere along the paths of life is the end visible. On none of them is there a sign-board marked "No Thoroughfare." The days of brotherhood are dawning. The march of brotherhood is forever. The eternal creed is, "One is your Father God and all ye are Brethren."

Men sadly say that Love's high dream is vain,
That one force holds the heart—the hope of gain.
Are, then, the August Powers behind the veil
Weary of watch and powerless to prevail?
Have they grown palsied with the creep of age,
And do they burn no more with pallid rage?
Are the shrines empty and the altars cold,
Where once the saints and heroes knelt of old?

Not so: the vast inbrothering of man—
The glory of the universe—began
When first the heart of the Mother Darkness heard
The Whisper, and the ancient chaos stirred.
Ever the feet of Christ were in events,
Bridging the seas, shaking the continents.

His feet are heard in the historic march
Under the whirlwind, under the starry arch.
Forever the Great Purpose presses on,
From darkness unto darkness, dawn to dawn,
Resolved to lay the rafter and the beam
Of Justice—the imperishable Dream.

This is the voice of Time against the Hours;
This is the witness of the Cosmic Powers;
This is the Music of the Ages—this
The song whose first note broke the First Abyss.

All that we glory in was once a dream;
The World-Will marches onward, gleam by gleam.
New voices speak, dead paths begin to stir:
Man is emerging from the sepulchre!
Let no man dare, let no man ever dare
To mark on Time's great way, "No Thoroughfare!"

GREENSBURG, PA.

IV.

THE REFORMED CHURCH YEAR.

A. M. GLUCK.

The idea of a sacred year grows out of the religious nature of man. We live our life in the midst of the material universe, and we are wonderfully modified and conditioned by the material universe of which we are integral parts. Especially is this true of nature as a system existing in the onward flow of time. Changes, movements, revolutions, days, months, years and cycles of years carry with them a wonderful educational force for the growth and development of the race. Indeed of all the systems of nature that of the onward flow of time has the greatest influence upon our lives. We feel it in the succession of day and night. Day leads to activity, night beckons us to rest. We mark the hours of morning, noon and evening. So, also, the revolutions of the moon have their effect upon us as well as upon the growth of plants and the ebb and flow of tides. The months are not arbitrary divisions of time. They correspond to changes in nature, and these changes are reflected in our spirits. And still more is it true of that grand period of time which is marked by the annual circle of the earth around the sun. The year, with its four seasons, runs its circuit within our lives as really as in the world around us. Its many changes are mirrored in our consciousness and responded to by our inmost sensibilities. Not once, but continuously as the cycles return upon themselves until each change becomes inseparably associated with a religious idea. It is thus that the year becomes the bearer of man's spiritual beliefs and the year thus invested comes to be for man a sacred or religious year.

We should greatly err, however, if we should allow ourselves

to think that the religious year is nothing else than the natural year stamped and invested with man's religious beliefs, for then it would be nothing more than a religious remembrance, the bearer or vehicle of religious thoughts and ideas. There must be something lying back of and beyond the natural year that gives it its particular characteristics and invests its different seasons and periods with those peculiar powers which so marvellously affect us, otherwise there would be no logical order in the year's succession of religious beliefs. The natural year is a medium of revelation. God walks his appointed rounds throughout the year, and every season has a special voice for the varying phases of our manifold existence. Spring comes, and with it returning life, an emblem of human youth. Summer comes, with its full stationariness, its noontide heat, its dust, its toil, and its call to work, an emblem of ripe manhood. Autumn comes, with its harvests, its mournfulness, its pleasant melancholy, telling us of coming rest and quiet calm, an emblem of full maturity. And then comes winter, with its damp mist, its slanting shadows, its dim skies, its red setting sun, its heaps of decaying leaves, its depressing north wind, telling us of death and decay, fit emblem of old age. In all of these ways God speaks to us as really as he spake to his holy patriarchs and prophets of old. The course of the natural year, therefore, with its revolving material changes, serves to shadow forth in a real way the spirit world that is all around us. Time is thus made to be the mirror of eternity. The visible is held to reflect the invisible things of God in their proper order and course. Therefore the sacred year is not only the natural year invested with certain religious ideas by the mind of man, but it is also that year invested with the great spiritual realities of the world that is unseen and eternal, an order musical with the voice of God.

And thus it is that the idea of a sacred year is universal. There has been a sacred year ever since there has been public worship, that is to say, ever since the origin of the human race. Traces of such a year are to be found among the most primitive

peoples. When Moses besought Pharoah for permission to lead the Children of Israel into the wilderness to sacrifice to their God, it was not to institute a new religious feast, but to observe one already long in existence. Back of the leading Jewish feast is to be found a pagan feast running back into the infancy of the human race. Traces of this feast are to be found in other countries than Egypt. The old Teutonic spring festival in honor of the goddess Ostara was a form of this same feast. Not only are traces of this spring feast to be found among all primitive peoples, but it likewise forms the center around which all the other feasts of the year revolved. It was at the time of this spring festival that the children of Israel made their flight from Egypt, in memory of which the feast of the Passover was instituted, and made to supersede and replace the old pagan feast. This then became the starting point of the Jewish religious year. As time went on the feasts of Pentecost, Tabernacles, Trumpets, Expiation, Dedication and Purification were added, but they were all made to revolve around the feast of the Passover as their center. And then it was in connection with the feast of the Passover that the death and resurrection of Christ took place, in memory of which the festival of Easter was instituted, and made to supersede and replace the old Jewish feast, which thus became the starting point and center of the Christian year. It will be seen therefore that this spring festival has formed the center or axis of every religious year that has existed since the beginning of time.

We must look to Christianity for the highest form of the religious year, because the religious year depends upon revelation and revelation only reached its fulness with the coming of the Christian religion. The primitive religious year rests upon revelation in nature, the Jewish religious year rests upon nature and the revelation given in the life and history of the chosen people; while the Christian religious year rests upon the full and complete revelation which God gave to the world in the person and life of Jesus Christ. Religion requires more

than the simple development of man's spiritual faculties and powers in what may be denominated the order of nature. It requires as necessary to its completion an order of revelation descending into the bosom of the world in the form of actual history and fact. This order of revelation began with the beginning of man but reached its completion and fulness only in Christ "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." And thus it is that the church year gathers up and fulfills all that had been foreshadowed and sought after in Paganism and Judaism combined, and stands forth as the one final and complete outline of saving truth. The order of the church year then is founded in part upon the history of Christ and of the apostolic church; in part upon the Jewish sacred year; and in part upon the natural succession of seasons.

The Church year, like the Apostle's creed, was not made, but it came into existence by a process of growth and development; it grew out of the life of the Church. Jesus Christ did not give the Church her forms; he gave the life, and he allowed that life to create its own forms in accordance with needs and conditions, somewhat as the life of the earth creates the forms in which it expresses itself. One therefore should not expect to find a complete religious year in the Apostolic Age, but rather the beginnings of such a year. And this is just what one does find. When we study the history of the Apostolic Age we find one idea of the Church taking root here and another there, and so growing on and developing until the whole wondrous cycle is complete.

Another thing to be noted in this connection is that the formation of the Church year went hand in hand with the formation of the Church's system of doctrine. Beginning with the baptismal formula as a nucleus, and taking the facts of Christ's life the Church gradually built up that marvellously comprehensive statement of her faith that meets us in the Apostle's Creed. But the same power that formulated the faith of the Church made itself felt also in all other parts of Christian life and worship, and thus it is that we find the formation of the

Church year following along with the formation of the Apostle's Creed, and that too in the same order and course. On no other basis can the remarkable correspondance that exists between the order of the teachings of the Church year and the order of the teachings of the Apostle's Creed be explained.

The starting point in the formation of the Church year is to be found in the weekly observance of Sunday or Lord's Day. In the Gospel (St. Matt. 28: 1–10) we read how on the first day of the week Christ rose from the dead and showed himself alive unto his disciples and thus established his claim of being the long-promised Messiah. This fact was really the turning point in the history of redemption, and ever since that time this first day of the week has been known as the Lord's Day in honor of the resurrection of the Lord, and has been kept as the day of rest and religious worship. Eight days later, or the second Lord's Day (St. John 20: 26–29) we find the disciples assembled for prayer, and Jesus manifests himself unto them again. Fifty days later, or the seventh Lord's Day (Acts 2: 1–11), we find them assembled again, and it is on this occasion that the promise of the Spirit was fulfilled. And so on and on Lord's Day after Lord's Day until the whole annual cycle is complete, and being complete, then through all subsequent returning yearly cycles unto this day. If you will follow these Lord's Days back through the centuries of Christian history you will come at last to the open tomb in the garden of Olives and the fair resurrection morn. Other days of the week also were observed by the early Christians but none of them were given the same prominence as the Lord's Day. It is always a festival day. No fast is allowed to fall upon the Lord's Day. This much then at least is clear: the weekly observance of the first day of the week as the day of rest and religious worship grew up out of the fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

Turning now from the weekly day of religious worship to the annual festivals, we find that they too grew out of facts connected with the life of Christ. As the Lord's Day grew out

of the fact of the resurrection of Christ, so too the first annual Christian festival to be established, namely, the festival of Easter, grew up out of this same event. When the first anniversary of the resurrection came around it was only natural that the disciples would remember it, but whether they observed it in any special way or not we do not know. What we do know is that it was observed at a very early time in the history of the Church, but just how early we cannot determine. The first time we read about it we find its observance general throughout the Church, and this indicates that its observance was then already very old. In the second century a great controversy arose, not concerning the fact of the observance, but concerning the time of the observance, Polycarp (69–155), Bishop of Smyrna, being the leader of the Eastern party, and Auicetus (d. 168), Bishop of Rome, being the leader of the Western Church. In the third century this controversy was taken up anew by such men as Victor (d. 202), Bishop of Rome, and Polycrates (d. 208), Bishop of Ephesus, but no agreement could be reached. Finally the matter was taken up and disposed of by the Council of Nicea (325), which decreed that everywhere the great festival of Easter should be observed upon the Sunday following the first full moon—the moon that regulated the feast of the Passover—after the vernal equinox, and this is the day which has come down to us. Thus the festival of the Resurrection, the great movable center and regulative festival of the whole liturgical system was established.

Shortly after the observance of the Easter festival had begun it began to extend itself to the days or weeks immediately surrounding it. The original name of the Easter season was *Pascha,* the name of the Jewish feast of the Passover with which it was originally connected and observed, and which it later supplanted, and, like the feast of the Passover, included a period of eight days. The reason for this is obvious. As the Jewish Christians, in many instances, kept the old Jewish feasts in connection with the new Christian festivals, it is likely that they made the latter correspond with the former in

point of time, and since the old Jewish feast embraced a period of eight days the new Christian festival would be made to cover the same period of time. This is the origin of what is known as the octave of Easter or Easter Week. According to Papianus (d. 212) the days of the week following Easter day were observed in a festive way and were days of vacation from toil. At the same time we find the Easter festival preceded by seven days of fasting. According to Dyonisius (180–265), Bishop of Alexandria, it was customary to keep the whole week before Easter as a fast in memory of the great closing events in the life of our Lord. This is the origin of Holy Week, containing Holy Thursday, in memory of the institution of the Lord's Supper, Good Friday in memory of the Crucifixion, and Silent Saturday in memory of the rest in the tomb. From this it will be seen that at this time the Christian Passover embraced a period of fifteen days, seven going before by way of preparation, and seven following after by way of carrying out and completing the full significance of the festival.

Still another stage follows in the growth and development of this holy season. As time went on week after week was added to the Pasch of the resurrection or Easter week, until at last the season came to embrace the whole period of time intervening from the resurrection of Christ to Ascension Day and from Ascension Day on to Whitsunday, services being held each day and the prayers being offered, as on Sunday, in the standing posture, in honor of the resurrection. Chrysostom (347–407) has sermons covering this entire season of holy joy. At the same time week after week was added to the Pasch of the Cross or Holy Week until at last the season of preparation grew into the great Lenten fast extending from Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday, the forty week days being in memory of our Saviour's fasting and temptation in the wilderness, during which time services were held every day, the prayers being offered, as always on fast days, in the kneeling posture. As early as the fourth century we find this great fast firmly established. From Athanasius (296–373) we learn that this great accomplishment

had taken place during his own life-time. And thus we see that little by little the great Easter festival with its attendant seasons embracing Holy Week and Easter Week grew up and evolved out of the fact of the resurrection of Christ.

We pass to Pentecost. As Easter grew out of the fact of the resurrection so the season of Pentecost grew out of the outpouring of Christ's Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the day the Jewish feast of weeks. The first time we find Pentecost observed as a separate and distinct festival and not simply as a part of the Easter cycle is in the time of Origen (185–254), who looked upon it as belonging to the fiftieth day after Easter, and in memory of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. For a long time the period extending from Easter Sunday to Whitsunday was known as the season of Pentecost. Pentecost gets its name from these fifty days. But here with Origen we find the beginning of that movement which made the day of Pentecost a new festival day and the season which grew out of it the real season of Pentecost. Like Easter, again, the festival of Pentecost was not long confined to one day, but was soon extended to embrace the days of the week following. According to Chrysostom (347–407) the days of this week were observed in a festive way as part of the festival of Pentecost. They constituted the octave of Pentecost. But the mystery with which Pentecost has to do is too broad and significant to be left to the services of one week, and therefore it is that in a little while we find that Pentecost has grown into a great season. In the time of Chrysostom (347–407) we find that the season of Pentecost covers a period of from twenty-four to twenty-seven Sundays, according as Easter came early or late, and Advent comprised four or six Sundays, and commemorative of Christ's work in the world through the agency of his Church. These Sundays were called Sundays after Pentecost, for as yet there was no Trinity season. Thus we see the season of Pentecost completed.

And as Easter grew out of the fact of the resurrection of Christ, and Pentecost grew out of the outpouring of Christ's

Spirit, so Christmas grew out of the birth of Christ. Strange to say, however, the Christmas season did not begin with the Nativity Festival, but with the Epiphany Festival, a festival taking its rise in the Eastern Church in honor of both the birth and the baptism of Jesus. Clement of Alexandria (150–220) speaks of this festival of the Epiphany as being observed on the sixth of January and in honor of the birth and the baptism of Jesus, the idea being that the baptism was the real birthday of the divine Christ. From the Eastern Church this festival of the Epiphany spread to the Western, where it came into contact with the Christmas festival, lost its original characteristics, and became commemorative of the visit of the three kings to the infant Jesus, the Sundays following being known as Sundays after the Epiphany. Just how early the festival of the Nativity took its rise we do not know. In the year 350 Pope Julius I. issued a decree that the great festival of the Nativity should be observed on the twenty-fifth day of December, the day being reckoned from the day of Christ's death which was believed to have occurred on his conception day, and this is the day that has come down to us. Furthermore, as soon as the Nativity Festival was established it was provided with an octave like Easter and Pentecost. Augustine (345–430) has a sermon on this octave of the Nativity showing its existence at this early period. The extension of the Nativity Festival to cover a period of eight days would seem to have been necessary too because of surrounding conditions. About this season of the year there was quite a cluster of Gentile feasts against the wild revelries of which the Christians needed to be guarded. The sermon of Augustine deals with just this very thing. A little later this octave of Christmas is known as the circumcision of Christ, but it is likely that this fact was associated with the day by such men as Augustine even though nothing is said about it. And then followed the Advent season. The origin of this season as a Church ordinance is not clear. We find it observed in the time of Pope Leo (d. 451) but its length varies in different sections of the Church. In

some parts of the Church it seems to have consisted of three weeks; in others four, and again in others six. A little later we find it fixed at four and so observed throughout the Church. What caused the creation of this season? It is generally said that it was created as a season of preparation for Christmas. On first thought this would seem to be true, for in the sixth century we find the Mondays and Wednesdays and Fridays of the season kept as fast days as in Lent. But it was not so observed originally. The first traces of it reveal no penitential character. That came in later. It was created to represent and reproduce in the consciousness of the Church the Messianic hopes of the pre-Christian world, the coming of the Christ in the flesh. The oldest Scripture lessons for this season which have come down to us deal with this one great overmastering idea. And with the completion of Advent came the completion of the Christmas season, and with the completion of the Christmas season the completion of the ancient Church year.

I have not tried to trace the details of this growth and development; that would not be possible in such a paper as this; nor it is necessary. I have simply tried to mark out the lines along which this growth and development moved. This growth was not the same in all parts of the Church. There were many differences and sometimes practices which later passed out altogether were much more generally observed in the Church than some others which remained. But the growth of the practices which I have sketched are the ones which finally came to prevail, and these are the ones with which we are concerned. When we look into this Church year as it meets us in the fifth century we find it to be an exact reproduction of the life and work of Christ, an exact reproduction of Christ's work of redemption, and as such it forms the framework or skeleton of the whole Catholic cultus of later ages. I am aware that the lines of growth here indicated are different from the generally received ones. Most writers on the Church year say that it began with the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and that in time they grew into cycles,

each including a season of preparation going before the festival and an after-season appropriate, and that the union of these cycles formed the Church year. But I fail to find any substantiation of that contention. I fail to find any penitential season going before Pentecost. In all the library of the Fathers there is not a single reference to suggest the idea of a penitential season going before Whitsunday. On the other hand we find that the entire period between Easter and Whitsunday was always observed in a festive way. No, the Church year began with the festival of Easter, and from it as a center it grew out in both directions, gathering unto itself the festivals and seasons of Pentecost and Christmas until at last the entire year was invested with the great acts of Christ's life.

For the idea of Scripture lessons for the Church year we must look to the Jewish synagogues, for these Jewish congregations scattered throughout the cities and villages of the Roman empire formed the soil in which the infant Church took root and grew. The Gospel first began at Jerusalem, then made its way through these Jewish communities, and then from them reached out into the great pagan world beyond, and it is here that we must look for the first beginnings of Christian worship. One of the elements of this synagogue worship was the reading of the lections or prescribed Scripture lessons from the Law and the Prophets, and these are the lessons which were read by the early Christians, together with the Gospels and Epistles as they came into existence. But as time went on, after the manner of the Jewish synagogues, a more complete order of lessons came into use. As the days of the Church year became established they were surrounded with Scripture lessons expressive of the truths or facts which they commemorated, and with the completion of this investiture we have the completion of the pericopes for the entire year. Fragments of this order have come down to us and the lessons are, as a rule, the same as those which meet us in the orders of later ages.

As said above, the Church year here sketched is the Church year which meets us at the close of the fifth century. It was

not perfect, of course, but it contained all the elements of a true liturgical year. From this time on its further growth and development are easily traced. In the sixth century the Advent season was fixed at four Sundays. In this century also we find commemorations not only of the great acts of Christ's life, but besides these commemorations of certain of the apostles and martyrs. Of course we find some of these commemorations going back as far as the second century, but then they were only local commemorations. By the beginning of the sixth century, however, there were some which were universally observed throughout the Church, and had become a part of the pericopal order. These were: St. Andrew, St. Stephen, St. John, the Holy Innocents, St. Peter, St. James, St. Paul, St. John Baptist and All Saints. In the eighth century the three Sundays preceding Lent were named Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, respectively, thus forming a season of transition from the season of Christ's manifestation of his glory by miracle to the season of the manifestation of his glory by suffering. Here too we find other saints' days added to the Church year, namely, St. Martin, St. Michael, St. Lawrence, St. Genevieve and the Virgin Mary. In the tenth century the first Sunday after Pentecost was named Trinity Sunday and observed as a festival in honor of the threefold revelation of God as Father, Son and Holy Ghost set forth in the first half of the Church year, the Sundays following to the number of twenty-seven being known as Sundays after Trinity. Here again besides the saints already commemorated we find the addition of many others. All the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, all the angels mentioned in the Bible and a noble army of saints and martyrs are given places in the calendar of the Christian year and made objects of worship. By degrees every day of the year became commemorative of a particular saint, the Roman order thus becoming more a saint's day calendar than an outline of evangelical truth. Religious worship was one continuous round of saint's days observances. The Romanization of the Church year was complete.

And then in the beginning of the sixteenth century came the Reformation, and with it the reformation of the Church year also. The Protestant cantons of Switzerland abolished all holidays consecrated to the worship of mere creatures, and kept the Lord's Day and the days set apart to commemorate the birth, circumcision, epiphany, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of Christ, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In a word, they stripped the old Roman Catholic year of its unchristian elements, and reformed it in the spirit of the Gospel. Suffice it to say that as reformed it contained all the old Christian festivals, arranged in the same old order, and connected generally in the same way, together with the old lessons and prayers. Of course this did not take place instantly, nor did it proceed along exactly the same lines in the different countries. In some Reformed countries a few saint's days were allowed to stand and some of them are found in our own order. But as used in America the Reformed Church year is the evangelical Church year pure and simple.

But the reformation of the Church year was not simply negative; it was also positive. The Church year was not perfect. There was room for changes and improvements. A reformation is not simply a cleansing; it is also a re-arrangement. So it was with the Church year. Our Reformed Fathers in Germany took the last four Sundays of the Church year and formed them into the season of the Last-Things, the season in which the first Sunday is given to the consideration of death, the second to the final resurrection, the third to the last judgment, and the fourth to final destiny, sometimes also called the Feast of the Dead or festival in memory of the dead. And they acted wisely, for this season is necessary to complete in time the parallel of the order of redemption carried out by our Saviour. And yet, strange to say, very few of our ministers seem to know of this most helpful season. Evidently the compilers of our present hymnal did not know of its existence.

The Reformed Church year is thus the complete reproduction of the life and work of Christ. The Advent season repre-

sents and reproduces in the consciousness of the Church the desires and the yearnings and the hopes of all the long pre-Christian ages manifested in the race at large, in the history of the chosen people, and in the life of the Virgin Mother; Christmas, his birth, whereby he took upon him our nature and didst dwell among us full of grace and truth; Epiphany, his manifestation to the world by life and word and miracle divine; Lent, his sufferings, death and burial; Easter, his glorious resurrection and victory over death and hell; Ascension, his glorification and resumption of power and authority; Pentecost, his outpouring of his Spirit and the founding of his Church; Trinity, his work in the world through the agency of his Church; the Last Things, his revelation of the fact that the communion of the saints knit together in his mystical body form one family, whether in heaven or on earth: that here death has no decisive power, that the outflow of love has no limiting bounds, that here fellowship is indissoluble: that its breadth and length and depth and height transcend all knowledge, sweep immeasurably beyond the external earthly, and hold in one indissoluble family embrace, cherubim and seraphim, angel and archangel, the spirits of the just made perfect, and the Church throughout all ages, world without end. It will be seen, therefore, that the Reformed Church year is a complete reproduction of the redemptive work of Christ.

And as such it is the true evangelical Church year. It is not a manufactured thing, it is a veritable tree of life whose leaves are the great evangelical truths of the Gospel, and those leaves are for the healing of the nations. We feel the force of this in such truths as present themselves for consideration on Christmas, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension Day and Pentecost, but it may just as well be true of all the other days which go to make up the Church year, for they too are bearers of great evangelical truths which are necessary for the salvation of men. Most Christian people find Christmas and Easter and Pentecost especially rich in Christian thought and life, but all the other days are just as rich when rightly under-

stood. If men understood this they would observe the whole Church year and not simply a few days in the year.

One of the greatest advantages of the use of the pericopal system of the Church year is that it keeps us in constant touch with the truths of the Christian religion, and thus in touch with Christ, the source of all life and truth. Our religion rests upon facts, these facts are chronicled in the annual cycle of time, and as we pass over this ever-returning cycle we are constantly being brought into touch with these facts and thus our religious life is being ever renewed. To lose sight of the facts of religion means the decay of the religious life. When, in the middle ages, the ancient Catholic Church year was lost sight of and the calendar of the saints put in its place, Christian life decayed and the reason for this decay was due to the fact that men had been cut off from the living truths of Christianity; they had been cut off from Christ. Ought not then anything else than the truth of the Gospel have consideration in the Church? Of course there ought. The Church to-day has many works to do, and these works should have proper and prayerful and intelligent consideration in the Church. But they should have consideration on those days on which they would be in order. I never could see why General Synod can't set aside a day for the consideration of Foreign Missions in the Epiphany season where it rightly belongs instead of on a day after that season has passed.

Not only does the use of the Church year keep us in touch with the evangelical truths of the Gospel; it brings us into touch with all of them. It constitutes the whole system of Christian truth. It spreads the Gospel of God in all its fulness across the whole surface of the Christian year. It is, if we may so speak, a chronological confession of faith, a moving panorama of the great facts of salvation, a dramatic exhibition of the Gospel for Christian people. In a sense Christianity consists of a number of fundamental truths and the Church year is the systematic and logical arrangement of these truths. To cover the Church year is to cover the whole field of Chris-

tian truth. To walk in this field is to walk in the blooming paradise of God, where the infinite fulness, the order, harmony and beauty of the whole reigns supreme. But it takes up these truths one at a time, and in this it does like Christ, for he taught one thing at a time.

It is educational. There are Christian fundamentals about which I would never have preached if I had not been led to do so in the order of the Church year. But right here men object and say that that is just the trouble with the Church year; it is altogether doctrinal. My dear brother, that depends on the preacher himself. Every religious truth has two sides: a doctrinal side and a practical side. What men think about a religious truth constitutes doctrine; the manner or degree in which the truth can be translated into life constitutes practice. The truth remains the same in all times, but the doctrine does not remain the same, for the doctrine is men's interpretation of the truth, what men think about the truth and this changes from time to time; neither does the practice always remain the same, for the practice is the manner in which men translate the truth into life and this changes from time to time. Whether the Church year is simply an outline of religious doctrines or simply an outline of ethical precepts, or whether it is both doctrine and life depends upon the preacher. Faith and practice, belief and conduct should go hand in hand.

The great trouble is that very few ministers know how to use the Church year. I know of a minister who after having been at a place for a few years said that he had exhausted the Church year and that therefore he would have to look for another place. That man did not have the least idea of the real nature of the Church year. The Church year is not a collection of lessons from which one is to get texts. Each day of the Church year sets forth a great Gospel truth, a theme; this theme has many phases, and texts and ideas on these different phases are to be found in all parts of the Bible. For instance, the fifth Sunday in Lent is Passion Sunday, its theme is Christian salvation, and texts and ideas on that subject are to be found scattered

all through the Bible. Take the theme of the day and from it as a center go out and explore the whole field of Biblical truth and wherever you find a text or an idea in harmony with the theme of the day preach it, and you will be preaching according to the order of the Church year. The man who uses the Church year in this way will find himself moving upon a path not forever upon one and the same plain, but upon a path moving ever upward and onward like the eagle that soars in his flight.

EMMITSBURG, MD.

V.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

On Friday, the seventh day of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, in obedience to the instructions of the Virginian Convention and by request of his colleagues, arose on the floor of the Colonial Congress in Philadelphia, and moved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should immediately be taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a confederation formed to bind the Colonies more closely together." The motion was seconded by John Adams. After due discussion and deliberation, it was thought prudent to postpone final decision on so bold a measure until the first of July. To take time by the forelock, however, a committee, consisting of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York, was chosen to prepare a draft of a Declaration of Independence. According to custom the committee was elected by ballot. Mr. Jefferson, having received the highest number of votes, was requested by the other members to draw up the proposed document. The report of the committee was submitted to Congress on the twenty-eighth day of June and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Lee's original resolution was adopted on the second day of July. On the same day the Declaration of Independence was considered. After some erasures, alterations, and a

stormy debate it was finally adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776. This is a plain, unvarnished statement of a truly historic transaction. The actors in the drama were not blind to the significance of their deed. At the close of that great day, the mind of John Adams, "the Colossus of the debate," heaved like the ocean after a storm. "The greatest question," he wrote to a friend, "was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided by men." While the resolution of Independence was under consideration, the Emperor Joseph II of Austria said to the English minister at Vienna: "I am very sorry for the difficulties which have arisen to distress the King's government. The cause in which he is engaged is, in fact, the cause of all sovereigns, for they have a joint interest in the maintenance of a just subordination and obedience to law in all the monarchies which surround them." The American statesman hailed the Declaration as the dawn of a new era—the birth of a new nation. The European monarch deplored it as the twilight of an old order—the death-knell of ancient royalty. "The people," said Samuel Adams, "seem to recognize it as though it were a decree promulgated from heaven."

A document like this was not blasted like a crystal out of a rock nor flung like an aerolite from the sky; it grew like a giant oak whose roots strike down through the centuries and whose vitality has been drawn from ages and generations. It becomes our task, therefore, to trace the gradual development of the *spirit* of independence, and then to analyze and expound the Declaration of Independence.

I. There is no evidence of a *conscious* struggle for independence in the Colonies before 1765. Yet there were men who caught a glimpse of shadows of the coming event long before it arrived. A certain Major John Child, in a pamphlet as early as 1647, forecast the reign of the "United Colonies" without any authority from king or parliament. Before 1770 Chalmers, the British spy, charged the Colonies with having

had a settled purpose to acquire direct independence through every reign from the time of the British Revolution in 1688. The Congress of 1774 sincerely and vigorously resented these repeated insinuations against their loyalty, and gave utterance to the true feeling of the great majority of Americans in their *Address to the People of England* when they said: "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government and desirous of independence. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies."

Prophets after the event, however, can readily see that the Colonists had a heritage and lived in an environment which in the fullness of time would bring forth the fruit of separation and independence. They were borne on, unconsciously indeed, by currents racial, social, political, and religious, whose source, sweep, and outlet went far beyond the scope of their vision.

An ocean, three thousand miles wide, and at that time six weeks to six months broad, rolled between British and American shores. The political bearing of this geographical fact is tersely put by Thomas Paine in his tract on *Common Sense:* "Even the distance at which the Almighty has placed England and America, is a strong natural proof that the authority of one over the other was never the design of heaven." Burke, in his speech on *The State of the Nation,* declared the "immense distance" of America as an obstacle to English dominion. When the crisis was impending it was constantly reiterated in pamphlets and addresses that by the nature of their location the Colonists had, and could have, representation only in their assemblies, by which alone they would therefore consent to be taxed. "How long," cried Richard Henry Lee, "must we traverse three thousand miles of a stormy sea, to go and solicit of arrogant and insolent men either counsels or commands to regulate our domestic affairs?"

The Colonies were founded without magnanimous aid from the mother country. The pioneers accordingly never felt themselves burdened with a debt of gratitude for kindness in

the days of necessity. Some of the most distinguished Englishmen gave utterance to this fact with an almost terrific emphasis. Adam Smith said: "It was not the wisdom and policy but the disorder and injustice of the European governments which peopled and cultivated America." Burke described the Colonists as "a set of miserable outcasts a few years ago, not so much sent, as thrown, out on the bleak and barren shores of a desolate wilderness, three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse."

Lest they forget Thomas Paine reminds his readers in 1776 that "this new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty of every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother; but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England that the same tyranny which drove the emigrants from home pursues their descendants still." Not only the rhetorical statements of agitators, but the cold facts of chroniclers drive us to the conclusion that the Colonies originated far more in the cupidity of rulers, the lust for dividends of trading companies, and the unquenchable thirst for religious and political freedom, than under the benevolent and the fostering care of a mother country. In fact the establishment of colonies for the rearing of new and powerful states, was not the *original* ideal of any European government.

The American pioneers were predominantly Englishmen and claimed no more and no less than the rights and prerogatives of British subjects. The Charter of Massachusetts stipulated that "the inhabitants of the colony and their children should have and enjoy all the liberties and amenities of free and natural subjects, as if every one of them was born within the realm of England." When this statute was written it was not a mere concession but a self-evident truth and right; but, when the occasion required, it was turned into an unanswerable argument in favor of resisting English tyranny. "If we are Britons," they said, "we are entitled to the rights of Britons, and we cannot be taxed by a body in which we are

not represented. If we are not British subjects, then plainly we are beyond the jurisdiction of either king or parliament." They felt themselves to be the direct heirs of Magna Charta, 1215, and the Bill of Rights, 1688. Their political genealogy is clearly recorded in these historic documents. "No scutage or aid," says Sec. 12, Magna Charta, "shall be imposed in our realm unless by the Common Council of our realm." More than four hundred years afterwards it was affirmed in the Bill of Rights "that levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogatives, without grant of parliament, for longer or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal." The sons of England in Virginia assembled, in 1765, were only loyal to the fathers of Runnymede when they resolved in opposition to the Stamp Act "that taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them . . . is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist." Whether this resolution could be judicially maintained in English courts or not, matters little when it is considered as a factor in the creation of an independent spirit.

The protest against taxation was not tantamount, however, to a demand for separation, to a refusal to bear a just proportion of the burdens of government. It was rather an occasion for the affirmation of certain ideas on the relation of the Colonies to the Home Government, always held but never clearly expressed. There was, indeed, a wide difference of views on the method of representation, but a general agreement on the right of it. Otis and Franklin would have been content with representation at Westminster. The more popular theory, however, recognized the headship of the king, but denied the jurisdiction of the English Parliament in American affairs. This principle, in one form or another, was upheld from the first. It was based on the feudal doctrine that the king is the original proprietor of all the lands of the realm; a theory defended by the foremost constitutional lawyers of England and

affirmed even by James I. When the Commons proposed a measure for the regulation of American fisheries, the king said: "America is not annexed to the realm nor within the jurisdiction of Parliament. You have, therefore, no right to interfere." As if by instinctive anticipation of coming friction the Massachusetts Colony, as early as 1634, resisted the legislative authority of the English Parliament, when it "resolved, that none but the General Court of Massachusetts hath power to make and establish laws nor to appoint officers, as also to set out the duties and powers of said officers"; and "that none but the General Court hath power to raise money and taxes and to dispose of lands, namely, to give and confirm Proprietaries."

Upon this theory, one hundred and fifty years afterwards, Samuel Adams based his argument as counsel of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in controversy with the provincial governor between 1764 and 1774. In the Declaration of Independence the grievances are, therefore, directed against the king. Parliament is designedly ignored since its jurisdiction over the Colonies was not acknowledged. The king, however, is charged with repeated injuries and usurpations against the Colonies; with aiming to establish an absolute monarchy over all their states.

The political and industrial aspects of the question at issue may be epitomized as follows: the British regarded the Colonies as properties under the control of Parliament, subject to taxes by it. In accordance with the mercantile system of political economics then prevalent over Europe, manufactures in them were prohibited. They could trade only *from* England, and except where their goods might interfere with English products, only *to* England. The Americans, on the other hand, considered themselves subject to the Crown but not to Parliament. Their own assemblies were their Parliament. They denied the right of a foreign body to lay taxes, though for a long time they admitted the right of restrictions on trade.

The decisions of history have since favored the theory of the

Colonists. Taught by the reverses of the American Revolution and the logic of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* who argued that colonies are not to be considered mere properties to be exploited but dependencies to be developed, England has since changed her colonial policy. Upper and Lower Canada were given a constitution and an elective parliament in 1791. The great commonwealth of Australia is even more independent of the mother country than Canada.

The Colonists were not only British subjects but branches of the Teutonic stock and therefore heirs of the philosophy and religion of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It was more than an accident that the caravels of the Genoese sailor touched American shores only twenty-five years before the Wittenberg monk nailed his theses on the doors of the Castle Church. Providence not only prepared an asylum for the persecuted and distressed, but also opened a new world where the visions of reformers and the ideals of statesmen might be embodied in religious and social institutions unhampered by ecclesiastical and political traditions sanctioned by centuries and millenniums. This was the mission of the pioneers which they were unconsciously fulfilling when wrestling with wind and wave to reach Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. Only when viewed in these larger relations can one see in its true perspective the struggle for independence.

From ancient times two theories of governmental authority have been held. The one is based on the divine right of kings; the other on the divine right of the people. The one results in monarchy; the other in democracy. For ages absolutism was in the ascendant and republicanism was only a dream of enthusiasts, or at best a local and short-lived experiment in Roman or Medieval times. In the ideal states of Plato and Aristotle and of Polybius and Cicero, the prerogatives of the individual are sacrificed in the interest of the social and political order of which he is an inseparable and helpless part. The apotheosis of Roman emperors found its Christianized counterpart in the *jure divino* monarchs of the

Middle Ages. When the states of modern Europe crystallized out of the chaos of feudalism, kings had to reckon with a nobility of regal blood. The Council of State arose alongside of the throne. The necessities of peace and of war compelled monarchs to confer with the representatives of the people who controlled the wealth of the nation. Thus the Lords and the Commons became an indispensable factor in government. The lurking opposition between the absolutism of the throne and the supremacy of the Parliament came to practical issue with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, the spread of the scientific spirit, and the rise of industrialism of the present era. Ideals were then proclaimed and social forces were liberated which precipitated a final conflict between two irreconcilable orders known as mediaevalism and modernism.

Protestantism, at first committed by its leaders to the doctrine of passive submission, or, at most, of passive resistance, to civil authority, was driven by the logic of events not only to self-defense but also to aggressive revolt. Witness the Huguenots in France, the Burghers in Holland, the Covenanters in Scotland, the Roundheads in England. Doubtless in this uprising there was an inseparable blending of political and religious motives, but above all a heroic effort for personal rights.

In due time theologians and philosophers discovered divine or rational sanctions to buttress the throne or vindicate the people. The lines of opposing political theories run parallel through four centuries. Time will permit us to cite only a few of the most influential advocates of the respective tendencies. Jean Bodin of France (1576), though a prophet of the social contract theory, supported monarchy against Huguenots and Catholics, Guises and Bourbons, as the only hope of salvation in the political extremities of his time. He allows the sovereign supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by laws. Equality among citizens, whether of dignity, rights, or conditions, he regards as an absurdity, and scoffs at those who strive for such an end. The monarch's will is the ulti-

mate source of authority of every civil statute. James I, "who never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," in his *True Law of Free Monarchies* boldly affirms the unassailable and sanctified supremacy of the king by God's direct ordinance, and passive obedience as the unconditional duty of the subject.

In the restoration of the Stuarts the altar joined hard to the throne. Court, Parliament, and Convocation loudly proclaimed divine rights and passive submission. A publication of the University of Oxford bitterly denounced "certain damnable doctrines, destructive of the sacred person of princes, their state, government, and of all human society." The doctrines which were especially obnoxious and specifically enumerated were: (1) The origin of civil government in popular contract of any sort; (2) Every aspect of the right of resistance to a king, though he violated the laws of the land, or any other prescription; (3) Hobbes' doctrine of the state of nature and the origin of government in the self-interest of the individual.

Bossuet, tutor of the son of Louis XIV, prepared a work entitled *Politics,* derived from the *ipsissima verba* of the Scriptures. He describes the king as sacred and absolute, an image of the majesty of God Himself. The only redress he allows the subject against a violent and arbitrary monarch is respectful protest and as a last resort fervent prayer for his conversion.

The theory of absolutism, however, was defeated by the uncompromising attitude of its representatives. James II was put to flight in England; William and Mary were enthroned by an irregularly constituted, but a clearly representative, Parliament. The tenure of the Hanoverian House depended on the suffrages of the people and the good behavior of the rulers. The Whig party was born and dominated English politics until its strength was sapped by intestine strife and factions bred by the pride of success. George III, harking back to the autocracy of the Stuarts, joined hands with the Tories and formed the historical Bute and Grenville ministries. With him began the agitation for revolution in America.

Democracy, on the other hand, not only had its clamoring mobs, but also its pondering philosophers, as far back as the sixteenth century. The religious wars of France called forth anti-monarchical writings from Catholics and Protestants alike. Their arguments rest upon the fundamental thesis of government by contract between monarch and people. Hotman, in his *Franco-Gallia* (1573), showed with marvelous erudition that France, from the beginning, was never an absolute monarchy; but that from the Merovingian period onward a General Assembly of the nation had exercised the highest political authority. The pseudonymous Stephanus Junius Brutus, in a work on *The Grounds of Right against Tyrants* (1579), says: "It is clear at the outset that men who are by nature free, impatient of subjection and born rather to command than to obey, have not deliberately chosen submission to another and renounced the law of their very nature, as it were, except for the sake of great advantage." He dwells, with special unction, on the formula for the installation of the kings of Aragon, a land of absolutism, which begins thus: "We, who are as good as you, and are more powerful than you, choose you as king."

It was the Spanish Jesuit, Marianna (1599), who first proclaimed the doctrine of tyrannicide. The voice of nature, he claimed, is above the laws of nations and demands resistance when monarchs degenerate into tyrants. At first they are warned and admonished by the assembly of the people. If this, however, does not avail, even a private individual may slay the tyrant with impunity.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the most notable expounders of the theories of social contract, of the right of resistance, and of divine law and of the law of nature in distinction from the law of nations, were Hobbes and Locke of England and Russeau and Montesquieu of France. Locke was the favorite philosopher of the Whigs. He furnished the theory underlying The Bill of Rights (1688), and the philosophic arguments for the supremacy of Parliament. In his

epigrammatic phrase "The appeal to Heaven," he coined a convenient formula for the justification of dissent from the established order in all lands. The Earl of Chatham, in a speech before the Lords in 1774, bears witness to his influence on English affairs. "Locke's principles," he said, "are drawn from the heart of our constitution, which he thoroughly understood, and will last as long as that shall last. And to his immortal honor, I know not to what under Providence the Revolution and all its happy effects are more owing than to the principles of government laid down by him."

The political ideas of the English philosopher passed current not alone in the puritan Colonies of New England, but were received at their face value in the other Colonies which originally had nothing in common with the puritan ideals. In the twenty years' agitation preceding the Revolution, theories of the origin of government and the relation of the Colonies to Great Britain, were threshed over in every hamlet from Maine to Georgia. Civilian and peasant, master and pupil, father and son, were perfectly conversant with the doctrines of popular sovereignty, of the natural rights of man, of government resting on the consent of the governed, of the sacredness of the right of revolution, and of the tyranny of taxation without representation. The writings of Locke were as familiar as the Bible to Otis and Franklin, Hopkins and Dulaney, Dickinson and Wilson, Hamilton and Jefferson. Through these leaders his ideals percolated to the masses. Of the sixty principal colonial pamphlets, from 1761 to 1776, not one failed to ground its argument as much upon theories of natural right and social contract as upon prerogatives claimed by the British constitution. These principles were constantly reiterated along the Atlantic border in contributions to gazettes, in petitions of colonial assemblies and committees, in memorial orations, public addresses, in declarations of rights and resolutions of Congress. At the opportune time Jefferson gave terse expression to the widely diffused convictions of the period as well as the doctrines of Locke's *Treatise on Government,* in the Declaration of Independence.

In the light of this rapid historical survey of political creeds and philosophical theories, we may clearly discern two conceptions of civil and social life striving for the mastery. Not only the English, but the western, world was engaged in the controversy. The Whigs of America found their sympathizers in Britain and Holland, France and Switzerland. The loyalists were the echoes on new shores of an ancient toryism extending from England to Greece. Whether they knew it or not, the New England manufacturers and the Virginian planters were far more overruled by their heritage than they controlled their environment. For in the womb of time two grand ideals, like Esau and Jacob of old, were struggling to be born. One needed only a spark of the prophetic fire to foretell that "two manner of people shall be separated from their birth; one shall be stronger than the other; the older shall serve the younger."

For a century and a half the relations between the Colonies and the mother country were undisturbed by war or rumors of war. America enjoyed almost more autonomy than the natives of England. "She had," said Burke, "except the commercial restraint, every characteristic of a free people." The statement is corroborated by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations.* "There is more equality among English colonists than among the inhabitants of the mother country." But with this long, unchallenged freedom there came a feeling of self-sufficiency, bold conceit, and sturdy truculency, which could easily be trained into defiance.

The occasion, if not the cause, for the latent spirit of independence to spring into life and the hidden opposition between the now two distinct peoples to turn into open revolt, came with Grenville's accession to power in 1763. Without even an attempt at tactful diplomacy, but rather with the most exasperating methods he tried to subvert peacefully the multiform customs and precedents which a century of license had nurtured. The prime minister, however, was the tool of a still more arbitrary, impolitic, and despotic king. As the

quarrel grew the stubbornness of George III increased. In the Declaration he is termed a "prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, and as unfit to be the ruler of a free people." In vain did the Colonists send petitions, raise protests, and delegate representatives to the royal court. They were met with threats and penalties, concessions and retractions, "armies and fleets, and myrmidons hired from abroad." Progress toward open revolt was rapid and inevitable. The crisis was reached when the Assembly of Virginia (May to June, 1776) "resolved that we have no alternative left but abject submission or total separation." The latter course of action was chosen, and thereupon the delegation to Congress was instructed to propose a Declaration of Independence.

II. It remains for us to analyze this epoch-making deliverance, the certificate of birth of the American Republic, and to show its relation to kindred documents of other nations. The contents may be divided into three sections: (1) A declaration of the principles of government, (2) a declaration of grievances against the king of Great Britain, (3) a proclamation of independence and absolution from all allegiance to the British crown, concluding with a mutual pledge of lives, fortune, and sacred honor.

The purpose of the Declaration is announced in the introductory sentence—"A decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." A series of four political axioms follows: (1) that all men are created equal; (2) that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; (3) that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; (4) that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.

The second part contains a bill of eighteen indictments

against the king of Great Britain, each beginning with the words, "He is." Parliament is not mentioned. The complaints may be grouped under three heads: (1) He has abused his authority by opposing wholesome legislation; by coercing, prohibiting, and dissolving legislative assemblies; by preventing the population of the states; by obstructing the administration of justice; by harrassing the people by the creation of new offices and the appointment of new officers and by keeping a standing army among us in times of peace. (2) He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, giving assent to their acts of pretended legislation; a thinly veiled allusion to the ministry and Parliament. Article 13 is an adroit marshalling of offences intended, doubtless, to arouse the reader's righteous indignation, and with cumulative force to urge him on to revolt. The following charges are presented in quick succession: "For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: For imposing taxes on us without our consent: For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury: For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government: For suspending our own legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. (3) He has abdicated government over the Colonies by declaring war against them."

The third part is a publication and declaration, in the name and by the authority of the people, that "these United Colonies are, and by right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the

State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do."

After this brief analysis of the contents of the Declaration the question arises, what are its sources? An attack on its originality was made in the house of its friends. Almost fifty years after its adoption, John Adams, perhaps with a touch of the green-eyed monster which so often exposes the littleness of greatness, minimized its worth by saying that it contained "not an idea but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the Declaration of Rights and the violation of these rights in the Journals of Congress of 1774. Indeed the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet composed by James Otis." Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's *Treatise on Government.* Fortunately Jefferson lived long enough to answer his critics in a frank and magnanimous way. In a letter to James Madison, after citing Adams' and Lee's accusations, he says: "That may all be true. Otis' pamphlet I never saw, and whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection, I do not know. I only know that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it. I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before. Had Mr. Adams been so constrained Congress would have lost the benefit of his bold and specific advocations of the rights of Revolution." In another letter addressed to Henry Lee, Esq. (Monticello, May 8, 1825), he describes the purpose of the Declaration "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we are compelled to take, neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing; it was intended to be an ex-

pression of the American mind, and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion. All its authority, then, rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or in elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney and others."

The author by virtue of his classical scholarship, splendid culture, wide political experience, though only thirty-three years of age, deep insight into humanity, and mastery of English style, was designed by nature and training to give utterance in epigrammatic, crystalline, dignified, and impassioned phase, to the diffused ideas, righteous indignation, high aspiration, and firm resolves, of a nation in travail.

It may be conceded that the Declaration did not contain a "new idea," and that its substance was repeated in the tracts, pamphlets, and congressional papers from 1764 to 1776; still we maintain it was a new creation. The spirit of Jefferson brooded over the colonial deep until the chaotic mass took cosmic form; and light shone out of darkness.

To trace the gradual evolution of thought and word in the Declaration by a comparative study of preceding colonial manifestos would be a fascinating task. We shall, however, have to content ourselves with a mere enumeration of some of its more notable literary forerunners:

1. The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved, by James Otis, 1764.
2. The Declaration of Rights by Congress, 1774.
3. A Summary View of the Rights of British America, by Jefferson, 1774.
4. Address to the People of Great Britain by Congress, 1774.
5. Address to the Inhabitants of Great Gritain by Congress, 1775.
6. Declaration of Causes for Taking up Arms, 1775.
7. The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, 1775.
8. Declaration of Rights, by George Mason, 1776.

In these successive declarations and discussions one can easily trace the stages in the clarifying process going on in the colonial minds in reference to their theoretical and practical relations to the British Empire, the religious, philosophic and economic premises upon which they rested their protests and demands, and the actual or imaginary grievances against king and parliament. The Declaration, as the final outcome of this process, naturally betrays its lineage in form and contents, and, in Jefferson's own words, "was the genuine effusion of the soul of our country at that time."

We have already spoken at some length of the formative influence of the ideals of modern Europe on the growth of the spirit of independence. It is equally important to study the relation between the allied documents which originated in corresponding crises in the development of the Western nations. To do this effectively, however, we must distinguish the local and transient elements in the Declaration—the coloring which came from the times, the people, and the particular questions at issue—from its general and permanent principles. To the one belong the distinctive phraseology and the specific grievances; to the other the courage to protest, the statement of complaints, the justification of revolt, the self-evident truths, and the pledge of loyalty to the cause. It is these latter elements which have always appeared in the religious and social revolutions of the past and which brought the Declaration into genetic relation to kindred movements and documents.

That the courage to protest is not a modern virtue, the rebellions and revolutions, the heresies and schisms, of the ancient world bear witness. Yet it has been stimulated to a high degree by the spirit and action of the Protestant reformers. Historians of every creed and political party have traced the original impulse to modern revolt to Wittenberg and Geneva. In this point I shall cite authorities who cannot be charged with a bias toward Calvinism or Puritanism. Borgeaud, in his *Rights of Modern Democracy in Old and New England,* says: "The first political manifestos of modern

democracy were formulated in England in the seventeenth century, and they were the fruit of the religious revolutions caused by the Reformation." John Morley, the English man of letters, speaking of Calvin, says: "That commanding figure of such vast power, yet somehow with so little lustre, by his unbending will, his pride, his gift of government, his genius for legislation, and dialectic in every field, his incomparable industry and persistence has conquered a more than pontifical ascendency in the Protestant world. He meets us in England, as in Scotland, Holland, France, Switzerland and the rising England across the Atlantic." Von Ranke, the German historian, claims "that John Calvin was virtually the founder of America." Castelar, a Spanish statesman, says: "Anglo-Saxon democracy is the product of a severe theology, learned by a few Christian fugitives in the gloomy cities of Switzerland and Holland, where the morose shade of Calvin still wanders, and remains serenely in its grandeur, forming the most dignified, most moral, most enlightened and richest portion of the human race." Our own Bancroft says: "He who will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows little of the history of American liberty."

Among the numerous political documents which directly or indirectly were the result of the Protestant revolt, we shall select only three for comparison: The Twelve Articles of the German Peasants (1525); the Dutch Declaration of Independence (1581); the English Bill of Rights (1689). These, like the Declaration of Independence, have their locol coloring. We are concerned, however, with their generic characteristics which enable us to put them all under the same category. Their points of agreement may be summarized as follows. They are expressions of discontent by the people or their representatives; they are popular protests against religious or political oppression of emperors and kings, of princes and nobles; they are appeals for freedom based on the rights of the individual as revealed in the Bible, or on the laws of nature, or on earlier compacts between rulers and subjects; they are efforts

for the attainment of personal rights as over against the arrogated prerogatives of civil, ecclesiastical, or social authority; they assert the privilege to demand changes in the existing government, or the establishment of a new order when rulers abuse their trust. Each one, therefore, may appropriately be called a Declaration of Independence.

The marked similarity in form and spirit between the Dutch, and the American, Declaration is evident to the casual reader. The former has three divisions, containing respectively a statement of the principles of government, an enumeration of grievances against Spain, and the announcement of separation and the establishment of a new government. Its purpose, its spirit, and its doctrine harmonize with the American Declaration. The resemblance cannot be accounted for by conscious imitation. It was the result of a sameness of creeds and political issues, though separated by two centuries, and of the indirect influence of Dutch history on the American people. So much, indeed, is attested by Franklin when he said: "In the love of liberty, and bravery in defense of it, Holland has been our great example." Before the close of the Revolution a native Dutch engineer in Washington's service, named Romayne, wrote a book in which he drew out in detail the parallel between the Dutch and the American Union, the Declaration and war of independence of the two nations, their respective difficulties and prospects; and prophesied the victory of the cause for which he fought and died. Thus we may assume that by a process of reasoning from the same premises, under similar conditions, as well as of gradual assimilation and absorption, we can account for the close resemblance between the Dutch and the American documents.

To complete the study of the origin of the Declaration, we shall have to consider the sources of its political philosophy. Jefferson, in a letter, acknowledged the influence, in a general way, of the "elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." The widespread opinion that the philosophy of the Revolution was taken largely from French

writers, notably Rousseau, is not substantiated by facts. A year before the *Contrat Social* was published, James Otis had issued his *Rights of the Colonies Asserted.* The American pamphlets of the time make no references to Rousseau's theories. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that both he and Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws,* 1747) were widely read, and had molding influence on the thoughtful men of the Colonies. Francis Thorpe says of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws,* that its influence on America was like that of Aristotle's *Politics* on the institutions of Europe. These Frenchmen, however, were deeply indebted to the English philosophers of the seventeenth century, and to Locke in particular. For Jefferson also the philosophic expounder of Whiggism is known to have had special fascination.

Taking a clue partly from the facts above cited, and partly from Sir Leslie Stephens (*English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,* Vol. II, p. 135), who asserts that "Locke's writings became the political bible of the eighteenth century, the source from which later readers drew their arguments, and the authority to which they appeal in default of arguments, we have compared his chapter on *Political Societies* and the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. Time permits us only to epitomize results. A confession of faith or a catechism could not more faithfully reproduce the Bible than the Declaration reaffirms, even to the very words and phrases, the contents of Locke's *Treatise.* In it we find the doctrines of natural equality; of government by social contract; of common consent as the basis of authority; of the purpose of political organization to secure life, property and protection against radical individualism on the one hand and arbitrary aristocracy and monarchy on the other; and of the necessity and right to dissolve old governments and institute new ones when either party breaks the compact.

His Whig sympathies, favoring the supremacy of Parliament against the Stuart contention for the Divine Right of Kings, are reflected in the priority he gives, in all forms of

government, to the legislative branch. "This legislative," he says, "is not only the supreme power of the commonwealth, but sacred and unalterable in the hand where the community have once placed it. Therefore all obedience terminates in this supreme power." But even the legislative, whether a king or a parliament, is limited by four restrictions: (1) It cannot be "absolutely arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people"; (2) "the legislative or supreme authority cannot assume to itself a power to rule by extemporary arbitrary decrees, but is bound to dispense justice and decide the rights of the subject by promulgated standing laws and known authorized judges"; (3) "the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent; they must not raise taxes on the property of the people without the consent of the people given by themselves or their deputies"; (4) "the legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people they who have it cannot pass it over to others. Nor can they be bound by any laws but such as are enacted by those whom they have chosen, and authorized to make laws for them." Over both the executive and the legislative "there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative when they find the legislative act the contrary to the trust reposed in them." The essential agreement of the principles of the Declaration with this political philosophy is so patent that it needs no further exposition. Locke and Jefferson struck the same chord, the equality of men; and its echoes were heard at the close of the eighteenth century in the watchwords of democracy—liberty, equality, fraternity, free thought, free speech, free trade.

In spite of the halo which surrounds it and the reverence in which a patriotic people hold it, the Declaration has not been exempt from the disillusioning touch of the critics. Yes, they have taken away from us even the blue-eyed boy, eagerly waiting for the final decision of Congress, and then breaking out in the patriotic cry, "Ring, Grandpapa, O ring for liberty."

The British government, of course, treated the crowning state paper with stolid indifference and silent contempt. The English press, however, was neither silent nor respectful. Pamphlets were circulated, publicly or privately, in criticism of it. Governor Hutchinson, in a tract entitled, *Strictures on the late Declaration of Congress,* said that the reasons given to justify independence were false and frivolous. Adolphus sarcastically declared "that at no preceding period of history was so important a transaction vindicated by so shallow and feeble a composition. Some passages, indeed, are remarkable for low and intemperate scurrility." From the day of its presentation in Congress there have been loyal Americans who have quarrelled with its form and substance. Jefferson himself tells us how Dr. Franklin consoled him with the story of John Thompson, the hatter, "when he observed that I was writhing a little under the acrimonious criticisms on some of its parts." Rufus Choate contributed a new phrase to the English language when in 1856 he spoke of the "glittering and sounding generalities of natural right which make up the Declaration of Independence." Its fate in the hands of the critics has been concisely described by Tyler in his *Literary History of the American Revolution:* "It has been attacked again and again, either in anger or contempt, by friends as well as by enemies of the American Revolution; by liberals in politics as well as by conservatives. It has been censured for its substance, it has been censured for its form, for its misstatements of facts, for its fallacies in reasoning, for its audacious novelties and paradoxes, for its total lack of all novelty, for its repetition of old and threadbare statements, even for its downright plagiarism, finally for its grandiose and vaporing style."

That it contains glittering generalities, repetitions of threadbare statements, and an almost unwarranted severity in its arraignment of an offending monarch, we may grant; but it is these characteristics which have been its strength and the source of its rejuvenating power. Its form and contents must

be judged by its purpose and intention. With the intuition of a genius, Jefferson grasped the nature of his task. He was to appeal to the classes and the masses of thirteen colonies; to set forth in striking phrase a political platform of national scope; to condense a social philosophy of two centuries in a preamble; to win the hostile, to arouse the indifferent, and to enthuse the friendly; to concentrate, in briefest form, the arguments of a majority, and to meet the objections of a minority; to depict, in a few sentences, the intolerable conduct of an arbitrary and despotic government; to inspire an army pitted against the regiments of a mighty empire, and to encourage an inexperienced nation to do and to die until the final triumph. All this was to be done in a document that could be printed in a single column of the Philadelphia *Ledger*.

The cumbersome verbosity of the conventional state paper would have missed fire; a judicial argument against the British king would have gone wide of the mark; an exact treatise on political science would have been a shot in the air. It may be true, indeed, that there are "glittering generalities" in the Declaration, but each one was born in travail and baptized with blood. Generalities they are, resembling those in the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Apostles' Creed. Of all of these it may be said, as it has been charged against the Declaration, that they are "founded on an impossible philosophy," stand for a "creed outworn," and "have not been actually practised by the men who advocated them."

It may be true also that the descriptions of wrongs suffered by the Colonies and the charges against the king are not a fair account of what actually happened. Of the eighteen heads of indictment there may be "hardly one which does not demand some modification or admit of some palliative"; but the author was not supposed to write a critical history or to present a judicial deliverance.

Let it be granted, also, that the doctrine of natural equality with its corollaries, is sanctioned neither by science nor by

experience; that it must be qualified and conditioned by full reference to special circumstances to save it from becoming a barren truism or a delusion." It must be conceded none the less that this unscientific and *a priori* idea is found already in the *Institutes* of Justinian, made its way, in spite of the Holy Roman Empire, through the Middle Ages, to be promulgated by theologians and philosophers of modern times, and to become one of the paramount forces in American democracy. While Jefferson, in the preparation of the Declaration, put history, philosophy, judicial utterances and the experience of his constituency under tribute it is nevertheless an original production—not historical, not philosophical, not judicial. It is far more—a prophecy and a program, whose ideals and precepts were to be fought out on the field of battle and enshrined in the statutes of a new republic.

Having proved our text, let us now like the Puritan divines, improve it. The history of government has been a series of readjustments between rulers and subjects, between the social order and the individual. The laws of Draco and of Solon were prepared to quiet popular discontent. The constitution of Servius Tullius and the Laws of the Twelve Tables marked successive victories of the plebeians over the patricians. At the close of the Middle Ages the barons wrested Magna Charta from King John, the Forest Cantons of Switzerland founded the Everlasting Compact against the House of Hapsburg, Philip the Fair invited the Third Estate to the National Assembly of France, and the Hanseatic League and the free cities of Germany were in training for independence and representative government. Constitutional monarchy or republicanism has won its way to every throne of modern Europe.

The Declaration of Independence was therefore only a symptom of a world-wide and an age-long movement. In one sense it was a tract for the times, and has served its purpose; in another, it is a new epistle of an apostle of democracy, always "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is for righteousness," that the American

citizen be complete. For independence is not a treasure which may be handed intact in a golden casket from generation to generation. "It is more than meat and drink and a ballot." It is an attitude and a disposition which must be maintained by firm resolve and courageous action. Eternal vigilance is the price of independence. The old issues, it is true, are settled, but new conditions require a reapplication of unchangeable principles. For

> "New occasions teach new duties
> Time makes ancient good uncouth."

In this process of readjustment, which is still going on, the equality of rights is constantly in danger of being violated by an inequality of powers. Men may, indeed, have equal rights to live, but they do not have equal capacity for life. They may have equal rights to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but they do not have equal endowments for freedom and enjoyment. "Aye, there's the rub." The strong will lord it over the weak, the rich over the poor, the wise over the ignorant. It is not so much, then, a problem of equality as a question in equity, that confronts us.

Latent in the political philosophy and civil constitutions of the eighteenth century were forces which in time generated their own brood of ills. The individual, the free man, was then made the center of the civil system. Legislation was bent on making room for the exercise of his powers even to the neglect of the community to which he belonged. His unrestrained activity, combined with his genius for combination, organization, and invention, in "the land of unlimited resources," has brought on a new crisis with tremendous possibilities for the making or the marring of the race. We are in the midst of new declarations of rights, addresses to the people, popular assemblies, literature ranging from the profound philosophic treatise to tracts of a single leaf, learned discussions in university halls, and wild harangues in public squares, flaring banners and stinging epigrams, master paintings and yellow cartoons—these are as the rustling of the leaves in the mulberry trees presaging a change in the social system.

Jefferson, in his letter of regret in answer to an invitation to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, said: "The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred ready to ride them, legitimately by the grace of God." That, doubtless, is the spirit of the Declaration, a lesson written in the blood of our revolutionary fathers.

Men have been ridden for ages by the "favored few, booted and spurred." Kings and princes, prelates and abbots, demagogues and charlatans have had their turn in the saddle and spurred the jaded beasts, but ever and anon they have balked and bolted and thrown their riders into the dust. No king of ancient lineage, no bishop of apostolic descent, no foreign power with invincible armadas, now sits in the saddle and holds the reins of the American people.

But what if, in place of a British king and Parliament, we are ridden by an executive with a big stick, a speaker with a repressive gavel, a trust with its arbitrary decrees, a walking delegate with his ultimatum, and a city boss with his paralyzing frown? So some prophetic herdsmen and dressers of sycamore trees would have us believe. Is it true that the political conscience is so dulled in the "beastly prosperous land" that it is no longer pricked by civic transgressions? Have we lost our love for liberty in our love for ease, and do we shrink from the glorious struggle for freedom to enjoy an inglorious peace that comes from fear and fatness? It may be all a delirious dream, but if it should be a fact the outcome can be nothing less, if we may forecast the future in the light of the past, than a transition, either by evolution or revolution, from a lower to a higher form of political adjustment and an advance in the realization of the social ideal.

The one-sided individualism of the eighteenth century is finding its corrective in the newly-awakened sense for the claims of the state. The emphasis is being shifted from the

citizen to society, from self-aggrandizement to altruistic co-operation, from competition to combination, from the concept of government for the benefit of the individual to that of government for the development of the communal organism of which the individual is a part. Ideal democracy has a care, not only for the making of the citizen, but also for the advancement of the state. Its factors must be so related and balanced that it steers clear of the Scylla of anarchy and the Charybdis of despotism. This may be still only an ideal floating before us and seen from afar. The perennial problem of the harmonious adjustment of authority and freedom, of the organism and its parts, of the state and the citizen still remains unsolved. But it is the distant vision that lures us on and begets hope in our breasts, when we are entangled in the slough of despond. The immortal founder of the Keystone State, the mystic sage and prophetic seer among the philosophers and statesmen of his age, has opened a vista and set a goal for our political and social efforts when he said: "The great end of all government is to support power in reverence with the people and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administrations; for liberty without obedience is confusion and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution and partly to the magistracy. Where either fails, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting it must be totally subverted. Then where both meet the government is likely to endure."

LANCASTER, PA.

VI.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

The utopian schemes of the eighteenth century differ from those of the seventeenth in three important respects. They exhibit, first of all, a fanatical enthusiasm for that ideal condition of simplicity and innocence which was known as the state of nature and held up before the world as the reign of God on earth, an enthusiasm, which, in the intensity of its convictions and the unboundedness of its claims, has no parallel in the seventeenth century.

A second difference, which is both cause and effect of the first, is that this state of nature is regarded in the eighteenth century as something not only within the bounds of human possibility but also realizable in the immediate future. The seething political and social forces which culminated in the French Revolution imparted to all schemes for social betterment, whether utopian or not, a sense of reality that was altogether wanting in the social philosophies of the seventeenth century. But it was not until well into the second half of the eighteenth century that a communistic organization of society came to be thought of as something to be actively striven for because immediately realizable. Before that time, as may be seen in the utopians of the seventeenth century, as well as in More, who wrote in the sixteenth, and in the ancient philosophers, communism was purely speculative in character. It was merely a dream, which, if not altogether dissociated from reality, was invariably referred to an indefinite and remote future.

The utopian schemes of the eighteenth century differ once more from those of the seventeenth in their conceptions of

man. While both are based on the doctrine of the social contract, the state of nature, which that doctrine presupposes, and in which the social utopias of both centuries are located, is one thing for Hobbes and another for Rousseau. In the seventeenth century man is regarded as a fallen being who is by nature sinful; whereas, in the eighteenth, he is assumed to be naturally good, his debasement being the consequence of bad laws and institutions. Such being the case it was only necessary, in order to restore man to his pristine purity and innate goodness, to return to a state of nature. But this involved in the nature of the case a radical transformation of existing institutions, and inevitably developed, however much the eighteenth century utopians might deprecate it, a revolutionary spirit in politics. Most of the eighteenth century utopias, however, were constructive as well as destructive. This is eminently true of Rousseau, who was keenly alive to the necessity of supplementing destructive criticism by a constructive theory, and whose great merit it is that he boldly essayed the part of reconstruction in an age of negation and disintegration.

Of the utopians of the second half of the eighteenth century three names besides that of Rousseau are of the first importance. And all three like Rousseau are French. The first is Gabriel Bonnot de Mably (1709–1785) whose voluminous writings exercised a profound influence on the political thinking of France, both before and during the Revolution, through their laudatory accounts of ancient institutions. For, more than any other, Mably is responsible for the blind extolling of Greek and Roman institutions, and for the no less blind depreciation of the Middle Ages, both of which were for a time in great vogue among French publicists and politicians. One of his works is little more in fact than a highly eulogistic reproduction of the institutions of Lycurgus.

But the one to whom Mably is most deeply indebted among the ancient philosophers is Plato. His various writings bear such a striking resemblance, both in form and matter, to Plato's dialogues, particularly the *Republic* and the *Laws,* that

there is no mistaking their source. Two of his most fundamental principles, first, that the great end of the state is to establish the rule of virtue, and, secondly, that private property is the source of all social ills, are clearly of Platonic origin. Like Plato, Mably confounds politics with morals and subordinates both to religion. Like Plato, he recognizes the importance of religion in the economy of the state and advocates a state church. Like Plato, he depreciates the fine arts. Like Plato, once more, he derides the claims of democracy, holding that men are altogether incapable of governing themselves. At two points, however, Mably parts company with Plato. The first concerns the family which the former maintains intact. The other difference is that Mably favors a decentralized government in preference to the highly centralized government of the *Republic.*

In his earlier writings Mably manifests little sympathy with communistic, or even with republican, ideas. In his first work, entitled *Parallèle des Romains et des Français par rapport au gouvernement* and published in 1740, he exhibits on the contrary all the marks of a thoroughgoing monarchist; claiming for kings and princes an absolute and unlimited authority, prior to and higher than the laws, and ridiculing as chimerical the pretense that would give to a monarch all power to do good and at the same time withhold the power to do evil. A later work, *Le Droit public de l'Europe fondé sur les Traités,* published in 1748, shows that at this later date he is still far from communism, for he approves negro slavery and justifies existing social inequalities. So far, again, is he from entertaining communistic views in his earlier writings that he clearly recognizes the importance and even the necessity of luxury in a normal social economy, and justifies it as the most efficient means of distributing among the masses the superfluous wealth of the rich.

That the beginning of Mably's conversion to the doctrines of communism must lie somewhere in the period between 1748 and 1763 is evident from his next work, *Les Entretiens de*

Phocion sur le rapport de la morale avec la Politique traduits du Grec de Nicoclès, which was published in the latter year and which is in the main a reproduction and eulogy of the institutions of Lycurgus. Five years later Mably's conversion had advanced to the point of condemning private property in land. This stage may be seen in his *Doutes proposés aux philosophes économistes sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques,* 1768, whose main thesis is that private property in land is not the natural and necessary basis of society. It is at the same time a bitter and powerful arraignment of the evils of landed property; although it falls short of full communism since it still permits private property in other forms of wealth than land. It is only in his last two works that Mably reaches complete communism. The one, *De la législation, ou principes des lois,* appeared in 1776. The other, *Des Droits et des Devoirs des Citoyens,* is a posthumous work. In both works Mably again denounces private property, this time all forms of private property, and describes the communistic arrangements dictated as he thought by nature and primitive man.

What caused this remarkable transformation in the views of Mably from absolute monarchy, luxury and slavery to complete communism is not altogether clear. But the most probable explanation is that it was the influence of Plato. All the circumstances point in that direction, although some have preferred to attribute Mably's change of heart to the influence of Rousseau. But this is clearly untenable and has not been generally accepted. It is true Mably does agree with Rousseau at a number of points. But there are also differences, too numerous and too vital, indeed, to render such a genetic connection probable. Thus Mably rejects such fundamental principles in Rousseau's scheme as his theory of the social contract, his doctrine of the general will, his distinction between government and sovereignty, and his condemnation of representative government. On the other hand, what is by all odds the most fundamental and comprehensive thing in Mably's social philosophy finds no favor with Rousseau. While both advocate

equality and a return to the state of nature as the only adequate remedy for existing social ills, Mably goes one step further than Rousseau, and stoutly maintains that a community of goods is the only way to realize this ideal. Concerning the precise manner in which the transition to a communistic organization of society is to be accomplished, Mably has nothing to offer. That aspect of communism does not appeal to him, for the reason that he was a pure theorist, who neither aimed at being the leader of a party or propaganda, nor expected to put his ideas into practice, nor even believed that they could be put into practice in the immediate future. And just because of this lack of a sense of reality in Mably's scheme the peculiar spirit of eighteenth century utopianism does not come to complete expression in him. With Rousseau he marks rather the transition from the utopian philosophy of the seventeenth century to that of the eighteenth. But speculative and impractical as Mably's scheme is, it is nevertheless of the first importance, for it is the seed-bed of so many later and more practical schemes of communism.

Mably's communism rests on the twin principles, both of them taken from Plato, that private property is the source of all social ills, and that it is not the natural and necessary basis of society. "It is [private] property," he declares, "which introduced insolence and sloth into the world. . . . From the moment that property in land was established inequality in fortunes began. Are not clashing and conflicting interests the necessary result of inequality in fortune—all the vices of riches, the vices of poverty, the impoverishment of mind, the corruption of habits, . . . ? Property has peopled the earth only with brigands and thieves. The greater the effort we make to return to equality, the nearer we shall be to happiness." Having shown that inequality of fortune degrades man and changes his natural sentiments, Mably proceeds to show that it is also contrary to the order of nature. To the objection that nature does not distribute her favors equally among men, that she does not for example endow men

equally in talent and virtue, Mably retorts that these, as well as all other forms of inequality, are themselves the necessary consequences of inequalities in fortune.

One of the strongest objections to communism is that private property is the necessary bond of society, and that without it human society could not possibly exist. To meet this objection Mably appeals to history. The best proof, he declares, that society can exist without private property is the fact that primitive societies, that Sparta, that the Jesuit communities in Paraguay, that the monastic orders of the Catholic Church, have existed without it. And these are not sporadic but typical instances of communism. Indeed communism appears to Mably to be so thoroughly in accord with nature that he experiences no little difficulty in explaining how the principle of private property ever arose. Avarice and ambition cannot explain it, for they are effects rather than causes. In his explanation Mably harks back to a golden age, which he imagines to have existed in the remote past, and in which, in the absence of private property, men were restrained by a lofty sense of duty. The stronger ones tilled the land; others labored at the mechanical arts; while the magistrates distributed to each family what it needed and as much as it needed. All this came to an end, as Mably explains, because some who were indolent by nature labored with less zeal and diligence, knowing that their share of the common stock was not dependent on the amount of labor which they rendered. But Mably does not admit that this tendency to idleness is necessarily fatal to communism. He believes that if communism were to be tried again it would be possible to correct idleness by some system of honorary rewards. It would only be necessary to devise such laws as would awaken the natural instinct which induces men to seek the esteem of their fellows and fear their contempt. Mably denies here again that private property excites to labor, asserting that the contrary is the case, and that private property is the very agency through which idleness has been introduced into the world. But even if crops should be less under

a communistic organization of society communism would still be desirable, says Mably, for it is infinitely better for men to be rich in virtue than in material things. He gives frequent expression to the low esteem in which he holds trade and commerce, especially in comparison with agriculture; and it is of particular interest to Americans to know that he predicted the early fall of the United States as the result of its remarkable commercial and industrial expansion and its no less remarkable devotion to material interests. Mably appears to have been far more impressed by the supposed moral advantages and possibilities of communism than is the case with communists generally. Whatever may be said of the earlier philosophy of communism, it is not too much to say that modern communism is for the most part crass materialism.

Mably has some interesting observations on the proper form of government under a communistic organization of society. An aristocrat by education and instinct he does not lose his aristocratic beliefs and sympathies in becoming a communist. To the very end he exhibits a profound distrust of democracy. He would entrust the government to men chosen by the several orders in the state, not to the multitude which is capricious, fickle and tyrannical. But if Mably has no faith in democracy he is even less inclined to the principle of absolutism. To check absolutism he advocates, as Montesquieu did before him, a government of checks and balances. As between a federal and a centralized government be favors the former; and in support of his views on this point he published in 1784 his *Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des Etats-unis d'Amérique.* From the fact that nature has planted in every human being certain counter-forces to aid the reason, so that one passion balances the other, Mably argues that that is the best form of government in which there is a division of authority whereby the passions of one magistrate are balanced by those of another. By this he means a government in which the legislative, executive and judicial powers are not concentrated in the hands of a single group of persons but distributed among

different ones. The purpose of such a distribution and balancing of forces is not to prevent the legislative or the executive power from actions that are proper and necessary, but only to check ill-considered and arbitrary actions. In support of this principle of checks and balances, which, under the joint influence of British practice and the political philosophy of Montesquieu, was incorporated into the constitution of the United States, Mably cites such examples as England, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Provinces and the Holy Roman Empire.

Throughout his discussion of communism Mably exhibits a spirit of moderation, which, while truly admirable, is by no means common among social regenerators. This is to be accounted for in part by the fact that he was a visionary, not an agitator, and that his scheme being purely theoretical did not contemplate an immediate, perhaps not even a remote, transformation of society. He frankly recognizes the historic character of the principle of private property and the utter impossibility of establishing a communistic régime in the immediate future. His great fear was not that communism would prove unwise or unworkable if once established, but that the propertied classes would not permit the abolition of the right of private property. Plato had recognized the same danger, declaring that the abolition of private property "would be too much to ask of men born and brought up as they are now." It is an open question whether Mably really believed that communism could ever be realized. "The evil at the present time is too inveterate," he declares at one place, "to allow us to hope for a cure." The rich would resist any attempt to establish communism, he says again, and it is doubtful whether they "could adopt the feelings which would be in harmony with their new position" if the attempt were successful.

At other times, however, Mably appears to believe that communism can and will be realized some time, though only in the remote future and then only by gradual approaches. And in the meantime he urges certain moderate measures, not only

as stepping stones to the communist goal, but also as correctives of the most glaring of existing social ills. To correct the worst evils of private property he proposes laws which will tend to restrain the passions it begets, that is, avarice and ambition. To this end he would reduce the use of money to its narrowest limits, discourage the fine arts and luxury of all kinds, restrict trade and commerce, and stimulate agriculture. To prevent the undue concentration of wealth in the hands of a small class he would limit the size of individual fortunes, abolish the right of bequest, and strictly regulate the succession of property. In deprecating the making of wealth a title to political office and preferment Mably manifests a decided leaning towards democratic ideas; and yet by a singular inconsistency he urges that no pecuniary emolument should attach to magistrates, a principle clearly incompatible with a genuinely democratic form of government. As a further means of diminishing luxury and the importance of money Mably would reduce the revenues and expenditures of the state to the lowest possible point consistent with efficiency. Instead of demanding money from its citizens the state should demand only services. Only in the event of this proving inadequate for the support of the state should taxation be resorted to. But in every instance this should be limited to a single tax on land, a suggestion which anticipates by a full century Henry George's scheme of land nationalization.

Although Mably's death occurred six years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, he exercised through his numerous writings a profound influence upon that movement, not only in a general way through his extreme laudation of ancient institutions, but more particularly through his two fundamental principles, both of them derived from Plato, that the supreme duty of the state is to establish the rule of virtue, and that private property is the source of all social ills. The first was the cardinal doctrine of the Jacobinist party; the other, the ruling principle of the party of Baboeuf.

Another name of importance among the utopians of the

second half of the eighteenth century is that of Morelly, a Frenchman like Rousseau and Mably, who is known to the world only through his writings. Three of these are extant. The first is a treatise on the duties of an absolute monarch. It was published in 1751 and its title is *Le Prince, les délices du coeur, ou Traité des qualités d'un grand roi et système d'un sage gouvernement.* In his second work, *Naufrage des îles flottantes ou la Basilade de Pilpaï; poème héroïque traduit de l'inden,* 1753, Morelly describes his ideal state. It is based on principles which he elaborated and presented in somewhat dogmatic form two years later in his third work, *Le Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois, de tout temps négligé ou méconnu.*

The first of these works is purely political in character; the last two echo many of the social ideas of Rousseau and Mably. Like Rousseau, Morelly places his utopia in a state of nature. Like Rousseau, again, he holds that man naturally possesses every virtue but has been debased by bad institutions. The chief of these debasing institutions according to Morelly—and here he leaves Rousseau to follow Mably—is private property which he denounces as the "author of all crimes." Every one would be industrious, he declares, if it were not that some were deterred from labor by the enervation of riches and others by the desperation of poverty. Hence in Morelly's ideal state private property is abolished in everything but clothes. All industry is based on the principle of labor according to talent, strength and age, and reward according to need. Like Mably, again, Morelly preserves the family intact; going so far in fact as to forbid celibacy by law.

While Morelly agrees with Mably in his general advocacy of Communism as a panacea for all social ills, he differs from him in at least two important respects. Thus while Mably's communism is little more than a reproduction of the social institutions of antiquity, or, better perhaps, a dream of a golden age that existed, or might have existed, in the remote past, that of Morelly is something immediately realizable and the object,

therefore, of active and direct effort. His face is turned to the future, not to the past; and because of his towering faith in the immediate realizability of communism it is in his writings that the peculiar spirit of the social philosophy of the eighteenth century first comes to complete expression.

The other difference between Mably and Morelly concerns the proper form of government for a communistic society. While the former argues for a government of distributed powers as the best guarantee of individual liberty, the latter favors a highly centralized government. When the Revolution broke out Morelly's views were championed by an influential party in the Convention; but his pronounced preference for the principle of centralization in government proved an insurmountable obstacle to their adoption. France had suffered so deeply from the evils of centralization that public sentiment created an irresistible demand for a government of distributed powers. But if Morelly's views had little influence on the political institutions established by the Revolution, they did not fail to exert a profound influence on its social theories. Nor was Morelly's influence confined either to the Revolution or to France. It is felt to-day throughout the civilized world, for his writings have been one of the great fountain sources for the doctrines of modern communism and socialism.

By the summer of 1795 the French Revolution, for which the writings of Rousseau, Mably and Morelly must be held largely if not entirely responsible, had spent its force. In the eyes of many it had failed to accomplish anything of permanent worth either in government or in industry. On its economic side, while it had done something to level the inequalities of wealth between the middle and higher classes, it was far indeed from having accomplished that larger and more general equality which the masses had expected and demanded. The masses who had played so important and conspicuous a part in the Revolution, particularly in the great cities, were at the close of that terrible upheaval, as they had been at its beginning, generally in extreme want. An un-

scrupulous monied aristocracy had arisen on the ruins of the old aristocracy of birth and privilege and at the expense of other classes. This had the effect of merely substituting one form of inequality for another. A further blow to the hopes of the proletariat was the creation of a large number of small freeholders, which was promoted by the Revolution, and which strengthened rather than weakened the institution of private property. It is evident from all this that the Revolution did little to improve the condition of the lower classes, and that at its close the reign of economic equality and general well-being was as far off as ever.

The conviction more or less general that the Revolution had signally failed to establish a more equitable distribution of wealth was responsible for the rise of a violent party, which maintained that the only way to correct the evils against which the Revolution had been directed was to destroy permanently and completely the inequality between rich and poor through a communistic organization of society. At the head of this party stood François Noel Baboeuf (1764–1797).

Baboeuf was a young man of twenty-five at the outbreak of the Revolution who from the first had identified himself with the most radical and violent side of that movement. When the Revolution came to an end without having realized its great watchword, *liberté, égalité, fraternité,* this radical element, convinced that the time had come for a new revolution, engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Directory and inaugurate by force the communistic millenium. In April, 1796, 17,000 men were ready to rise. They called themselves "The Equals" and their program was set forth in the "Manifesto of the Equals" which was spread broadcast. But just before the time appointed for the rising one of the conspirators revealed the plot to the Directory. The leaders were promptly arrested and the movement suppressed. Baboeuf and one other were guillotined while a number were deported and imprisoned.

The only knowledge we have of the details of Baboeuf's

utopia is contained in a history of the conspiracy written by one of its leading spirits, Philippe Buonarroti, but not published until 1828, and in the "Manifesto of the Equals," the Magna Charta of the movement. For the main features of his scheme Baboeuf was indebted to Morelly's *Code de la nature.* With its principles he combined an intense admiration for the political and social institutions of the Greeks and Romans, which is clearly traceable to the influence of Mably, and which led him to call himself Caius Gracchus Baboeuf after the Roman tribune.

The cardinal principle of Baboeuf's scheme is perfect and absolute equality. "The aim of society," he says, "is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality." If equality is not perfect and absolute, if there remains a single man in the world richer or more powerful than his fellows, the harmony of the system will be broken. So supremely important is equality that everything must be sacrificed to it. "We are prepared," he declares, to consent to everything for it [equality], we are prepared even to make *tabula rasa* to obtain it. Let all the arts perish if need be, provided we obtain real equality." The same sentiments are expressed in the Manifesto: "We desire real equality or death. This is what we want. And we will have real equality no matter what it costs. . . . If it is needful let all civilization perish, provided that we obtain equality. . . . No further private property in land; the land belongs to no private person. We claim, we require, the enjoyment of the fruits of the land for all; the fruits belong to the whole world." Like other communists of his time Baboeuf justified communism on the twofold ground that it is necessary to the happiness and well-being of the race, and that it is in harmony with the law of nature. "Nature herself," he says, "has given to every man an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods."

According to Baboeuf communism can be established and successfully maintained only by force, that is, through governmental agencies. He has no faith in a communism that con-

sists of a few small isolated communities of voluntary adherents in the midst of a society based on individualistic principles. To be efficient and successful communism must be general. To this end the government must possess absolute and unlimited powers without losing, Baboeuf maintains, its democratic character. To preserve this democratic character and prevent the rise of a ruling class he provides a system of popular election for all officials and rapid rotation in office. Under such a system the acquirement of habits and thoughts consequent on superior or inferior position will be impossible. No one will become accustomed to command, and none to obey. In nothing save in their brief authority, not even in the distribution of wealth, will the government officials have any advantage over their fellows.

Production, distribution, exchange, and even consumption, are subjected by Baboeuf to the absolute direction of the government to the minutest details. The government determines the capacity of each individual and employs him accordingly, sending him whenever his services are most in demand or most advantageous to the common good. The government determines again the needs of each one, and in this basis apportions to him his proper share of the social income. It is to Baboeuf and Morelly then that modern communism owes its most distinctive principle, viz., from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.

To secure complete economic equality each one is given two different occupations, a light and a hard one, between which he alternates. To give variety of scene there is a further alternation between the transportation and postal services on the one side and sedentary forms of industry on the other. Those who will not work at all are treated as thieves. Only a limited number of occupations are recognized by Baboeuf. These are agriculture, the most favored one because most natural to man, cattle raising, fishing, navigation, the mechanic and manual arts, retail trade, transportation, war, teaching and scientific pursuits. Literature and the fine arts are

not included in this list, although they are not expressly forbidden. That they cannot thrive, however, even if not expressly forbidden, is evident, not only from the spirit of materialism that is characteristic of all schemes of communism, but also from the provision in Baboeuf's scheme that full political rights and privileges are granted only to those who follow one or more of the recognized occupations. The occupation of teaching, because of its importance in the molding of public sentiment, is hedged about with special restrictions. Only those who have been properly licensed can teach; and licenses are not granted until the applicant has declared his firm adherence to the principles of communism.

The same rule of absolute equality which prevails in economic matters is extended by Baboeuf to every other relation and interest. Perhaps it would be better to say that it extends itself; for Baboeuf maintains that as no sort of equality is possible without that which is economic, so economic equality will naturally and necessarily bring with it every other. Hence all eat the same kinds of food in Baboeuf's utopia; and except for differences of age and sex all dress alike. Likewise all are educated alike, no account being taken of differences of strength, talent, inclination or disposition. All children are removed at an early age from their parents and segregated in large boarding schools where they are indoctrinated in the principles of communism. The purpose of this is to make impossible the subjection of the child to influences hostile to communism, as well as to prevent the growth of differences and inequalities which would be no less fatal to communism. So too in its management of foreign commerce the government takes every care that no ideas or customs subversive of communism may be introduced from the outside.

From all this it will be seen that Baboeuf's scheme is, perhaps more than most communistic schemes, a crass materialism with hardly a redeeming feature. Comfortable mediocrity in everything is its supreme ideal.

Unlike most communists Baboeuf recognizes the deep-rooted

character of private property, just as Mably did before him, and purposes to establish the rule of communism gradually. This he would do by confiscating first the property of corporations, which, added to such property as even the most individualistic state must have to prosecute its various activities, would make a considerable common property to start with. To this he would add from time to time the property of deceased persons, which must necessarily escheat to the state since Baboeuf does not recognize the right of bequest and inheritance. In this way all private property would be nationalized in the course of fifty or sixty years.

Baboeuf was an agitator rather than a thinker. Hence his views are often crude and incomplete; they lack logic and system; and invariably they are couched in the language of passion. But crude and illogical as they are they exerted an influence far beyond their time; and we shall meet them again in such social innovators and philosophers as Louis Blanc and Charles Fourier, enunciated, to be sure, in more methodical and sober language.

LANCASTER, PA.

VII.

CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

A. S. WEBER.

Progress In Christological Inquiry.

The effective thinking of our modern era has been largely dominated by three factors—the conception of evolution, the scientific method of criticism, and the philosophical interpretation of the world on the basis of data collected by experience. Under the application of these, as vitally important and regulative principles, every department of human knowledge has been subjected to reinvestigation. The results achieved in many instances and directions, have fully justified the laborious undertaking. Traditional views and theories, which for a long while had been accepted as sound and reliable, have been undermined and discredited, overthrown and displaced. Age-old standards and methods, once regarded valid and thoroughly trustworthy, have been proved rationally unsatisfactory, and resigned to innocuous desuetude. Creedal statements and entire systems of thought, hoary with age and logically unassailable—provided the premised assumptions underlying them are granted—have suffered total and permanent eclipse.

In the domain of theological speculation, biblical theory, and religious history, this modern movement of thought, dominated by the particular factors alluded to, has brought about a change which without exaggeration may be described as a revolution. The idea of progressive development, the historico-critical method, and the new philosophy, in their combined influence, have wrought a far-reaching transformation in the religious convictions and the Christian attitude of men, which, whether one belongs to those who dread and deplore it, or to

those who rejoice in and welcome it, remains an outstanding and incontrovertible fact. A comparison of any theological treatise or volume of sermons published, say fifty years ago or earlier, with treatises and discourses on corresponding topics published to-day, will be sufficient to establish this contention. The difference found to exist between them, lies, not in a mere change of verbal phrase or form of expression, but in mental mode, in point of view, in attitude of spirit, in fundamental conceptions and interpretations. To my mind, this manifest difference between the old and the new indicates a progress, which, instead of menacing Christian thought and life, tends rather to their revival, their deepening, their enrichment, and their efficiency. It is an evidence of the repetition in religious history of earlier experiences—the removal of those accretions to basal truths which are shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain, and may be duly stressed in the faith and practice of man's spiritual life and religious activities.

No particular section of theological science affords a better illustration of these changed conditions and conceptions, and of the progress in apprehending what is fundamentally essential, than that which deals with the central fact in Christianity. The Person of Jesus has been brought for the modern mind into a far more intimate and spiritually authoritative relation with the thought and life, the character and aims of Christian men. This more intimate and spiritually authoritative relation here affirmed, has to do, not with clearer and better metaphysical definitions of our Lord's Person than those of the Creeds, but with the clearer and better apprehension of the religious value and spiritual significance which Jesus has for mankind. "The modern conception of Christ," it has been correctly said by a recent writer of keen insight into the situation that now obtains in regard to this point, "lacks altogether the definiteness of the metaphysical statements respecting His Person. The language in which nearly all modern writers on the Person of Christ take refuge is—'The uniqueness of Jesus;' which is a very indefinite, and for any of the really

defining uses of speech, a most unsatisfactory term. But in the very indefiniteness of the term, as it has come into common use, one may detect the present effort of faith to detach the thought of Christ from the formal and rigid abstractions of the early Creeds, and to make Him more accessible to those who think of Him in personal terms, each in his own way and according to his own needs." [1]

The service of Schleiermacher and his successors in the Ritschlian school at this point cannot be easily overestimated. They have laid down with emphasis the true relation and the vital significance of the personality of Jesus for the religious life of the individual believer and of the Community which He founded, in distinction from metaphysical definitions of Him intended alone for the intellect of men. "Moses may be taken from Judaism, and the law remains. Mahomet may be taken from Islam, and the pious Moslem can still practice his accustomed ceremonies. But to sever Christ from Christianity even in thought is an impossibility. The Redeemer and the redeemed are vitally and indissolubly joined. The Christian religion is a life, and its principle is: 'Because I live, ye shall live also.'"[2]

All the really valuable contributions to our knowledge of Jesus and of his significance for us, made by contemporary studies, are at one in emphasizing this point of Schleiermacher and the Ritschlians. And that point recognized and firmly held, the disinclination to attempt new metaphysical definitions of Christ's Person, and the unwillingness to rest content with the old creedal definitions, need occasion one no disquieting solicitude or alarm in regard to the present or future of Christianity.

This should be made the more evident when, under the guidance of the new comparative investigations of the content of the several New Testament writings, one comes to an intelligent apprehension and explanation of the variant portraitures

[1] *The Function of the Church in Modern Society,* by W. J. Tucker, ex-president of Dartmouth College, cloth, 110 pp., price 50 cts. net.

[2] Quoted from Schleiermacher's *Christliche Lehre* in Edgehill's *Faith and Fact,* p. 36.

of Jesus, for instance, in the synoptic Gospels and in Paul's letters. Only one explanation accounts satisfactorily for the distinct difference between the synoptic representation of Jesus and that of Paul. The portrait found in Paul's writings is an idealized representation of Jesus, which "inspired though it be," as Doctor Tucker declares in the book already quoted, "is none the less the expression of his own personal need, trust, love, and devotion—in fact it covers the whole range of his quickened imagination and emotions." If it was allowable for the Apostle to the Gentiles to put an idealized construction upon the Prophet of Nazareth, why should the rightful privilege he used be denied to others even though their interpretations and representations of Him do not in all respects harmonize with his? The fact is, the great Christian souls of every succeeding age have exercised this privilege. Those of ours are doing it likewise. In a very real sense, every age in Christian history has its own Christ. That this is the case now, was plainly the conviction of the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., when he wrote, a decade or so ago, his great book on *The Christ of To-day.* Its title clearly implies this, and supports the position here taken. And President Tucker is warranted to say from this point of view, that "some have tried to put their Christ into their creeds, others into their prayers and hymns. Whatever has seemed most true, most necessary, most to be believed in, most to be hoped for, in God, most to be longed after and striven for by men, has been, according to the varying spiritual standards of the time, set forth in the vision of Christ. The vision may at times have been distorted, but it always reflected the best there was at every time in the struggles and hopes of mankind." Nothing less nor more can it be with reference to the Christ of the present day. We are occupying a new mental, moral, and spiritual position. Our knowledge of science, of the history of the race, of the universe, of the evolution of life in the universe, of human psychology, of the Scriptures, of God's methods, plans, and purposes, has carried us to heights which afford a new and vaster religious

outlook, and from the vantage ground of which it is not strange that an altered vision of Christ should be caught by us. This does not mean, of course, that Christ Himself has changed. He is "yesterday, to-day, and forever the same." It is men's conception or interpretation, apprehension or representation of Him that has been changed in a way answerable to the ethical and religious needs met by Him, in an age which gives prominence to practical personal and social sanctions and values.

What our era, thus disposed, might be expected to accentuate and idealize in Jesus, is precisely that which in the Christological inquiry of to-day, is actually most strikingly conspicuous, namely, the transfiguration of His humanity. With the metaphysical questions concerning His Person, which once were of absorbing interest to Christian thought, and regarded as having prime importance, contemporary thinkers have but little patience. Hardly an academic interest, even, attaches to them, and controversy about them is happily a thing now almost wholly unknown. What is insisted on with glowing enthusiasm is the glorious fact of the ideal humanness of Jesus. Brought face to face with His perfectly sinless and absolutely holy life and character, men of our time see "the vision on the mount," witnessed by Peter, James, and John of old, repeated in their own presence. The Son of Man is transfigured, and in the white light which enwraps Him, nay, which issues from Him, no lines dividing the human and the Divine are discernible. The perfectly human in Him is the highest possible manifestation of the Divine. "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also." At the same time, moreover, this vision of the transfigured humanity of Jesus carries with it the assurance and the guarantee of the Divine in man. "Now are we the children of God and heirs."

In an address before the numerously attended "World's Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress," held in Berlin last July, one of the distinguished theologians of our age, Professor Harnack, discussed as his subject "The Double Gospel"—the gospel *of* Jesus, and the gospel *about* Jesus.

The first, in his view, has as its essential ideas the eternal value of the soul, the living God as man's Father, and ethics as the life-principle. The second concerns itself with the riches of Jesus' Personality and Kingdom, which are to be won only through faith in Jesus as the crucified, risen, and ever-living Saviour. The "first" gospel contains the Truth, the "second" the Way; both together bring Life. In connection with his consideration of the second phase of his topic, he touched the point now before us. "If we hold fast unconditionally, as we must, to the truth that Jesus was a man," he said, "it still remains true also that God has made this Jesus, Lord and Christ for mankind, and that faith in Him has created and continues to create children of God."[3] The advanced position on the Christological question, taken by the Berlin theologian, in his "*Essence of Christianity*," and reaffirmed in the first part of the sentence just quoted, has failed to commend itself to the approval of a not small part of Protestantism. What he adds in the second part of the sentence widens, however, the restricted meaning of the first, and shows that his conception of Jesus, like that of most believers in Jesus, has back of it important reserves of faith. His words 'God has made this Jesus, Lord and Christ for mankind' are clearly an echo of the concluding words of Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2: 36). The words declaring that 'faith in Him has created and continues to create children of God' should serve to make his views almost as acceptable, even, as those expressed by Athanasius' famous dictum, "We are not by nature sons of God, but the Son in us makes us so; also God is not by nature our Father, but He is the Father of the Word dwelling in us, for in Him and through Him we cry, 'Abba Father.'" And in the exercise of this reserve of faith —the faith which draws upon that of the ages—Harnack simply reflects the spirit of the day which glories in its knowledge of and devotion to the transfigured humanity of the Son of God.

[3] Reported in the *London Christian World,* in its issue for August 11, 1910, p. 4.

The implications of this faith, so far as my knowledge of the literature on the subect goes, have never been so clearly and convincingly set forth, and its validity so forcefully and triumphantly vindicated, as by Richard Holt Hutton's classic and illuminating dissertation on "The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence." Those unacquainted with this masterly discussion of what is fundamental to Christianity in its deeper aspects, by one who laboriously struggled through Unitarianism into the light and warmth of a richer and truer conception of Jesus in His Godward and manward relations, will find the study of it a discipline exceptionally refreshing, reassuring, and rewarding. He holds that alone through faith "in Christ as the Eternal Son of God is there revealed to us something of God's absolute and essential nature, something which does not merely describe what He is *to us,* but what He is in Himself. If Christ is believed to be the Eternal Son of God, God is seen to be indeed and in essence a Father; the social nature, the spring of love, is of the very essence of the Eternal Being; the communication of His life, the reciprocation of His affection, dates from beyond time—belongs, in other words, to the very being of God. And this fact, that God is essentially the Father, essentially Love, essentially all that the human heart can desire, is first proclaimed by Christ to save us from sin, strengthen us in frailty, lift us above ourselves, which it could not do as it does, did we not know that God was, and His Love was, and His Fatherly Life was, apart from man, and that it is in reality deeper and vaster than the existence of His human children." [4]

Short of this faith, inspired and justified by the transfigured humanity of Jesus Christ, as the progress of thought has led men now to conceive of Him, nothing could quicken and sustain the ardor and glow of loyal devotion whose evidences are becoming so growingly and contagiously manifest in our day. This faith, born out of the present attitude of critical and

[4] *Theological Essays,* by Richard Holt Hutton, cloth, Eversley Series, 424 pp., price $1.50 net, pp. 157–162.

scientific thought, " is interpretative "—to return once more to one of the authors already quoted above—" and all the more real because unconsciously interpretative of the feelings of humanity toward Him. It is the spontaneous tribute of that humanity which has been created in and through Him during the Christian centuries. Its authority lies not in definitions of His nature, nor in logical deductions from the Scriptures concerning His Person, but in the feelings of men toward Him. their desire to honor Him, to obey Him as Master, to follow Him as Leader, to fight His battles with unrighteousness and sin, to take part in the establishment of his kingdom on earth.

If there is a growing insistence upon the humanity of Christ in the practical faith of the Church, it is because men find themselves drawing near to Him under the urgent incentives of human needs, both personal and social, and because their ideals of service have no satisfying realization short of His sacrifice. And if in like manner insistence is placed upon the humanity of Christ in any attempt to define His nature, to reconstruct the doctrine of His Person, it is because men think they see in Him the perfect oneness of the human and the Divine. *In no sense is the conception of Christ most characteristic of modern thought or faith, a revival, either by intention or in spirit, of the merely humanistic theories of His Person which have had their day in past theological controversies.* The view of Him rather has been fixed upon which seems to reveal Him in His nearness to men, which invites intimacy in the diviner forms of service, and which best accords with the Christian optimism of humanity concerning its own future on the earth. Whatever may prove to be the shortcomings of this conception of Christ, these are not to be found, in the spirit and purpose which animate those who hold it. Its spiritual authority lies in the sincerity in which it is held, and in the increasing response which it awakens among all who have at heart the saving of their fellow men."

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

VIII.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

Church Union.

We profess our faith in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. The unity of the Church is in this way tacitly assumed by all Christians; but the interpretation of this article of the Christian faith varies widely among those who profess it. All hold it implicitly, but when they come to express it in the form of an explicit statement it assumes widely different aspects. The Church is regarded on the one hand as the body of Christ, and St. Paul, when the tendency to parties appeared in the Corinthian Church rebukes this tendency by asking indignantly, "is then Christ divided?" Our Lord Himself, of course, does not speak of the Church precisely in this form; He lays stress more upon an internal unity that brings all the members together in one spirit, so that they constitute one body because of this internal unity. In this sense He speaks of one fold and one shepherd, and of a bringing together of all those who are not yet in the one fold, so that their unity may be accomplished. There is room here, then, for a difference of conception. On the one hand the stress may be laid upon a mechanical oneness, one that holds in the form of external organization; and this is the point of view held by Roman Catholics and by all those who would unchurch all denominations of Christians other than themselves. On the other hand, stress may be laid on the oneness of spirit, on an internal conformity of life, which may admit of more or less variation in organization, in cultus, and in doctrine.

It does not require much knowledge of church history to convince any one of the fact that the former aspect of a united church has not prevailed absolutely at any one period of the Church's life since the first centuries of its existence. At

least this is the case, unless the uncharitable position is taken that many believers, yea many churches and congregations who professed faith in Christ and called themselves Christians, did not belong to the Church. We know how the Church in this strict sense has been torn asunder by strife and schism, and how freely the ban of excommunication and the anathema were hurled at men, not because they were immoral and corrupt, or even because by their doctrine they denied faith in their Lord and Master; but simply because they differed from others in their view of organization and cultus, or in the form in which they stated their dogmatic belief. Is such a division of the Church necessarily in contradiction to its life and genius, and is it necessarily and absolutely evil?

Undoubtedly such separation violates the ideal conception of the Church; and whatever allowance we may make for the historical conditions which have brought about this state of things, it grates upon the tender sensibilities of the believer, and leaves in the mind a lurking sense of incompatibility with the faith which we profess in the Creed. For this reason, as well as for practical reasons, efforts are made from time to time to bring together those who stand apart, and to effect in some way a Church Union, which will realize in a more complete way than has ever yet been done the ideal community in which all believe. And yet, it would be a great error to suppose that diverse tendencies in doctrine and diverse practices in forms of worship and church government are necessarily evil. The promise "and when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, He will guide you into all truth," does not mean "He will put you at once in the possession of absolute truth." Truth is reached historically by a process of growth and development; and whilst there is in the Church a divine factor, whilst there is light from above and the illumining influence of the Holy Spirit, these do not work magically or in disregard of the differences which prevail in human nature and in the process of human development. The pragmatist says we do not reach truth *per saltum, sed ambulando;* and there is much

to be said in favor of this statement so far as the attainment of anything great in knowledge or in man's social and ethical development in concerned. Before a high plane of attainment can be reached in any particular aspect of life, there must be a process of differentiation; subjects must be approached from different sides; every different point of view affords an insight and an apprehension of the question, not possible to another and thus makes a real contribution to the solution of the problem in hand. In the processes of history it is found not only that individual men, great leaders in thought, differ in their constitution and modes of apprehension, but also that the conditions under which they live, the social environment, the age, the climate, the tendencies to which they are subject bring about manifold variety. Great questions, therefore, which call for solution are settled not once for all by abstract dogmatic determination, but by a process of concrete development, and this necessarily involves the fact that the life of believers, the doctrine of the Church, modes of organization and worship, will tend to develop in different forms and in different directions. In view of the fact that those who hold the same doctrines and prefer the same forms of worship and organization are naturally drawn together, and those who differ from them, if in the majority, will undertake to discipline or excommunicate them, this tendency will lead to separate organizations and the formation of churches or denominations independent of the so-called central authority or the body that claims to be the one holy catholic church.

In the recently published seventh volume of the *Catholic Encyclopædia* (p. 367) is found the following passage: "The Catholic Historian does not admit that the various forms of the Christian religion may be taken, roughly speaking, as a connected whole, nor does he consider them one and all as so many imperfect attempts to adopt the teachings and constitutions of Christ to the changing needs of the times, nor as progressive steps towards the future higher unity wherein alone we must seek the perfect ideal of Christianity. There is

but one divine revelation given us by Christ, but one ecclesiastical tradition based on it; hence only one church can be the true one, i. e., the Church in which the aforesaid revelation is found in its entirety, and whose institutions have developed on the basis of this revelation and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. To assume equality among the various forms of the Christian religions would be equivalent to a denial of the divine origin and supernatural character of the Church." Perhaps we may find in this statement a tacit admission that there are "various forms of the Christian religion" not included in "the Church" as the repository of revelation in its entirety. But it emphasizes the claim that every divergence in doctrine or practice not sanctioned by "the Church," is necessarily false, violates the one divine revelation, and breaks away from the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Protestantism, on the other hand, recognizes the fact that there were divergences in doctrine and practice among the Church Fathers and in the early church, and that in later times when the power of the papacy was broken, the modern church produced different types of doctrine and organization as not only legitimate, but as, in a certain sense, necessary both for the complete development of Christian doctrine and the satisfaction of the historical conditions under which social life, in its moral and religious aspects, had its unfolding. From this point of view even heresy had its significance, not only because it gave occasion for the more explicit statement of the true doctrine, as some writers admit, but also because it challenged closer investigation and more profound study of the questions at issue and thus, through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in a concrete and practical way led to an apprehension of the truth in a form and on a plane which could not otherwise have been reached. There is, therefore, a certain justification for the ancient division of the Church into the Greek and Roman Churches; and the various denominations of Protestant Christianity, have served and are serving a legitimate purpose.

But, granting all that may be claimed for the processes of

differentiation and historical development by virtue of antagonizing forces, it must be confessed that, first of all, such divisions of Christendom do violence to the idea of the unity of the Church; and, in consequence, some have taken refuge under shelter of a supposed invisible Church which has its members in all the various branches of historical Christendom and makes room for an inner unity, a unity of life and spirit in which the divine ideal becomes manifest. The conception of an invisible church, it need scarcely be said, does not meet the requirements of the case. Such a church is too vague and unreal; it has no practical efficiency, and the tendency is to undervalue doctrine and organization to such an extent as to lead to mysticism and *Schwärmerei.* In the second place these divisions are a source of weakness. They cripple the energy of the Church and prevent it from putting forth united effort either in the furtherance of the Kingdom of Heaven in the world or in the conflict with the forces of evil which abound on every side. Who does not feel that when great moral issues are pending, the voice of the united church, the conjoint action and influence of Christian men and women, would be a factor of paramount importance in securing the desired result? As it is, no practical way of calling out such a voice or securing such action is available, and the strength of Christian sentiment is frittered away in idle declamation.

These, however, are not the worst features of the situation. The division of the church into churches has given rise to strong antagonisms and led, frequently, to great bitterness of feeling. How often have the different branches of the church unchurched one another! How often have Christians refused to recognize anything of saving faith in any communion but their own? The early Christians forced from their opponents the exclamation: "Behold, how these Christians love one another!" Party spirit in the divided church, on the contrary, has often justified the statement "Behold, how these Christians *hate* one another!" Here the frailty of human nature asserts itself so as to negate one element, the essential

element, of Christian character in the life of the believer, and it becomes a hindrance which operates against the conversion of the unbeliever. And then what a frittering away of strength there is in the prosecution of missions, home and foreign, and in all the aggressive work of the church. Surely the evils which accompany the divided church lie on the surface for every thoughtful observer.

The present age is often said to be a critical period in the life of the Christian Cruhch. It is a critical period for two reasons. There is an internal ferment in life and doctrine which affects all Christian denominations, the Roman Catholic Church not excepted; and this will probably lead to the restatement of many forms of doctrine and the adjustment of life, cultus, and forms of organization so as to meet the conditions demanded by the scientific, social, and ethical problems of the modern world. In addition to this Christianity is confronted by external conditions of graver import, perhaps, than in any previous period of the world's history. In every Christian country there are secular elements and forces of gigantic proportions which must be met and conquered; and the awakening into new life which heathen nations manifest, the fearfully rapid progress which they are making in taking on an advanced civilization, the character of which whether Christian or unchristian hangs trembling in the balance, constitute a challenge to Christianity of the most far-reaching importance. It is a relief to find, therefore, that at this very time also the Christian Church in all its branches is becoming conscious of the desirability of church union. The matter, indeed, has gone far beyond the stage of academic discussion; plans of union are brought forward, and practical efforts to unite two or more denominations organically are being tried with more or less promise of success. In the absence of prospects of organic union various forms of federation and coöperation are proposed, all of which testify to a dawning sense of the incongruity of the present situation.

Of course there has always been in certain denominations a

readiness for church union on the basis of "benevolent assimilation." "Come to us, and we will do thee good" is a form of speech on the part of some churches with which we are all familiar. But a denomination or church that believes in a mission of its own and a precious heritage which it was its province to safeguard and develop, is not ready to be swallowed at one gulp and lose its identity in the larger body, however ready and anxious it may be to join hands and enter into fraternal relations, yes, organic union, with another body when the historical conditions are properly met. And we think that, as Columbus found the signs of land multiplying when on his first voyage he approached the new world, the signs of the times abundantly indicate the approach of an era of better understanding between different churches, and a willingness to give as well as take in the efforts to bring about union.

The first indication of a change in the situation is found in what we may call a toning down of asperities. Theological controversies are not as angry and furious as they used to be. Theologians of different denominations find that they can discuss questions at issue between them in a friendly spirit; each striving for the truth as he sees it with a willingness to allow that something may be said also on the other side. Members of different Churches approach each other in a friendly spirit and are willing to recognize as brethren those whose denominational affiliations are not like their own. In fact, except in extreme cases, cases which everyone would now regard as instances of narrowness and bigotry, it is generally admitted that the essentials of Christianity are found in all the different churches. Sometime ago Cardinal Gibbons spoke of Protestants as "our brethren in dissent," and the same spirit is manifest to a great extent in all religious bodies. Large-hearted charity and a spirit of toleration have come to prevail to a degree that would have seemed impossible a generation ago. This spirit is certainly to be commended and it may be that Christian brotherhood will ultimately come to rest on some

such formula as has been suggested by Dr. Denney: "Faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour." It is to be observed, however, that such recognition of the essentials of Christianity and of brotherhood among the members of different religious denominations does not mean a latitudinarianism which would tolerate all forms of doctrine, or emasculate theology of all possible contents. We hear it said with growing emphasis that Christianity is life and not doctrine—a statement which is true in its essence, but of which it is easy to make a false application. No religious denomination has ever prospered or shown virile strength, that has not laid stress upon soundness of doctrine, as well as holiness of living. A Christian animated by the spirit of His Master should be ready to extend the hand of fellowship to all who profess faith in his Lord, but it is quite another thing to be indifferent to the truths of divine revelation and Christian experience as these are apprehended and formulated, as they must be apprehended and formulated, in the form of doctrine, if Christianity is to be complete and vitally effective upon young and old. Religious denominations therefore should be true to their standards and develop doctrine, for doctrine is progressive, on the basis and from the standpoint of their confessions. In this age of research and investigation, man's hands should not be tied in their efforts to get at the truth and their feet should not be prevented from following wherever truth leads. Conscientious opinions are to be respected and differences in doctrine tolerated with charity. The motto of the Church may well be: "In essentials unity, in nonessentials liberty, and in all things charity"; but that does not mean that a man who has entered the ministry or holds a professor's chair in any particular denomination must have absolute freedom to follow his private judgment whithersoever it may lead in teaching or in practice. He must not be dishonest, he must not teach what he does not believe, or practice in cultus and administration what he believes to be wrong; but he may not hold his place in his denomination and be false to the vows he has

taken. If he cannot consistently act in the denomination, the only honorable way is to step down and out, and to affiliate with those who are like minded with himself. I must not condemn him for his opinion's sake; but he must not in the name of sincerity and freedom force upon me and those who like me adhere to a particular form of doctrine and worship, that which destroys for me the sanctity of worship, or is in conflict with the faith of the denomination to which I belong and to which I desire my children to belong. That is to say, a distinction must continue to be made between types of denominational doctrines and practice, and that liberal tolerant spirit which will recognize as brethren those who do not "follow after us."

An additional motive for closer union is found in the desire for coöperation in practical work. Reference has already been made to the waste of effort and the dissipation of strength, physically and morally, in divided efforts. It goes without saying that there would be economy in union, a saving of time and strength and money, if the operations of the Church could be carried forward conjointly under wise direction and planning, without duplication or interference. The desire to attain to greater efficiency is no doubt one of the impelling motives to secure Church union in one form or other, where the Church is already established and to bring together into harmonious relations the different Churches as they labor in heathen lands. We may take as an example the United Church of Japan, the moral and economic advantages of which are patent to all who are conversant with the missionary work carried forward in the island empire.

Taking all these facts into consideration it is easy to see that Christianity has reached a point in its development when the historical movement ought to be on converging lines. And there is a strong trend of this kind, as we have seen, among thoughtful Christians in all denominations. The process of actual union, the consummation of which is no doubt far distant, ought to begin by bringing together Churches of the

same type of cultus and doctrine. Without basing a representation on the numerical strength of the different types of Churches, we might represent the whole body by a circle, leaving one-half of it to Catholicism, the Greek and Roman Churches; we might place over against it in the other half, on the extreme right, Episcopalians, Methodists, etc., that is, all those Churches which have the Episcopal form of Government. Next in order would come the Lutheran Churches, then the Reformed and finally on the extreme left Baptists, Congregationalists, etc. Union between the extremes is neither feasible nor desirable under present conditions, but there is no reason why those which are of the same type should not approach each other and finally enter into organic union. We are speaking particularly from the standpoint of the Reformed quadrant, including in our country the two Reformed Churches and the various branches of Presbyterianism. We call these Churches of the same type, because they agree substantially in the modes of Church government and they have a common source of doctrine and cultus, although these have been developed on different lines according to the historical conditions and the theological issues by which the Churches were confronted. The problem now is not to go back and thrash over again the theological issues of the past and to settle controversies which have brought about separation and variety; but rather to bring about from the standpoint of what has been achieved in each, an advance in life and doctrine and cultus which makes real union possible.

This brings us to the question by which the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches are confronted at the present day: Ought organic union to be effected between the Reformed Church in the United States and the Presbytertian Church, North? It matters not how this question has come before the two Churches or with whom it originated. The question ought to be considered on its merits. It is no doubt encompassed by many difficulties and a hasty decision either one way or the other would be unfortunate. The Churches are of the

same type and each has a history and a heritage of which it may well be proud; but there are also striking differences between them, which is would be folly to ignore. In the first place, of course, there are practical conditions which would have to be met if such union could be satisfactory to either Church. Among these we may name first of all the legal aspect of the subject, and the making of provision for the administration of funds by Boards of Missions, Boards of Trustees, etc. Trust funds would have to be amply secured and provision made for their administration, so that the purpose of the donors would be respected, so that they would not be diverted from their proper and legitimate use. Provision would have to be made for the continuation of literary and theological institutions under conditions which would satisfy the Churches and interests which have established and maintained them. In the next place such union could not mean mere absorption of the smaller body by the larger one. The historical mission of both Churches would have to be recognized and the results of past achievement conserved in the life of the united body. In the third place there would have to be substantial unanimity in the two Churches, for without this the result might be three bodies instead of two, an outcome that would be greatly deplored.

It must be confessed that there are objections which naturally suggest themselves to anyone who seriously considers the problem. There is in the first place the fear that the smaller body would be overwhelmed and perhaps disregarded in the larger body. We have faith in the integrity and courtesy of the Presbyterian Church, and we believe that proper consideration would be shown and fair representation accorded to the smaller body. There might be less opportunity for leadership and greater difficulty in swaying the larger body by men who wield a large influence in the smaller one, but ability and merit could not fail to be recognized and after all ability and merit ought to be the factors that count. Presbyterianism according to its standards is more rigidly predestinarian than

the Reformed Church; but this is largely a question of the past, and there ought to be no difficulty in looking forward to a general acceptance by both Churches of the irenical position of the Heidelberg Catechism. The Reformed Church has always paid attention to the Christian year and the leading Church festivals, whilst the Presbyterian Church in former days not only failed to do so, but even objected to their observance. In this respect, however, there is a decided change, and Presbyterian Churches generally are observing Christmas and Easter at least, and there ought to be no difficulty in getting to a plane where there is a wide tolerance, if not uniformity of practice. The same is true in cultus or forms of worship. The Reformed Church has always recognized the moderate use of liturgical forms and a cultus in advance of that found in Presbyterian Churches generally; but here, too, there has been an advance and it ought not to be difficult to secure at least liberty and then a trend of usage in a common direction.

But now what advantage would be likely to accrue from such union? We believe that each Church has a charge to keep, a heritage to conserve, a problem to work out. The results of past struggles and achievements abide in the present, and having faith in the heritage and work of the Reformed Church, we believe that these would not only be conserved in the larger body, but that they would reach a higher development, and make their influence felt in a wider sphere. Truth is like leaven, its influence will spread; but only when it is in the meal, when the conditions for larger working are at hand. We believe furthermore that such union would operate as a wholesome stimulus to pastors and people. Isolation always has a dwarfing effect. Contact with men and things generally gives larger vision. On the same principle, contact with ministers and members of the larger denomination ought to bring larger vision to men of the smaller, and stimulate effort on the part of ministers and members to attain to the realization of higher ideals. We have faith in our ministers

and our people and we believe that they have ability to equal the best. And then finally, as has been tacidly assumed all along, such union would contribute to general efficiency. This means, that in every branch of Church work, in the congregations, in the institutions of the Church, in the education of young men for the ministry, in the prosecution of home and foreign missions, there would be a more effective working and the attainment of larger results.

The question as we have said is by no means free from difficulties; but it seems to us it would be most unfortunate to waive it aside as undesirable or impracticable. We believe that the spirit of God is stirring the hearts of men everywhere and leading them. To negative at once the propositions which may come before the Church, would seem to be striving against the spirit of God. And yet it is altogether likely that neither Church is ripe for the contemplated step. What then is to be done? The least that can be done is to hold the question under advisement, a campaign of education ought to be instituted, and every possible effort made to hasten the day when the two Churches may see eye to eye, and strive in the bonds of a common union to the attainment of their high ideal.

J. S. S.

Dr. Hall's History of Ethics.[1]

The scope of this truly monumental work will appear in a citation of the headings of its eleven chapters as follows: I, The Preparation for Christianity; II, New Testament Ethics; III, The Ethics of The Early Church; IV, The Old Catholic or Bishop's Church and Its Ethics; V, The Militant Papacy and Its Ethics; VI, Scholasticism and Its Ethics; VII, The English Reformation and Its Ethics; VIII, The Continental Reformation and Its Ethics; IX, The Merging of Churchly with Philosophical Ethics. Each chapter is subdivided into sections in which the ethics of the various forms of church organization of a particular period are discussed.

[1] *History of Ethics within Organized Christianity,* by Thomas Cuming Hall, D.D., pp. xi + 605, New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1910, $3.00.

Chapter VIII, for example, has nine sections, each of which treats a distinct aspect of ecclesiastical life in the continental Reformation from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The chapter on "The English Reformation and its Ethics" is wrought out with far more care and completeness than is usually given to this phase of the subject by the German historians, and is therefore of special value to the English student.

The author's purpose is not to describe the actual moral attainments of the Christian communities in their individual, social, and civic life; he is concerned more with the norms of conduct—the theoretical, rather than the practical, side of the subject—as these have been defined in the several stages of the history of Christianity. Yet he recognizes the fact that "theory and practice go hand in hand." In studying the ethical theories, accordingly, one cannot ignore moral practice without doing violence to the truth of the theories.

The author's point of view is clearly shown in his definition of the significance of Jesus in relation to ethical life. His aim was not primarily to reorganize a new community, to reconstruct society, to develop a new religious philosophy, or to publish a new code of laws. He inspired in men a new life, a new ideal and a new dynamic for its realization.

The new life necessarily expressed itself in ethical theories and moral endeavors. But no community, bearing the name of Christ, from the first to the twentieth century, "has completely embodied the inspirations of Jesus in its doctrinal or its ethical formulas." The history of ethics within organized Christianity is, accordingly, the story of a series of attempts to translate the ideals of Christ into theoretical form and practical life. "Indeed this is the greatness of Jesus that his name is linked with a divine ideal so high that no church and no state can claim, with any pretense of truth, to have really incorporated that ideal."

The ethics of the church, or churches, have not been a direct and unmodified deduction from the teachings of Jesus; but

"a synthesis into which elements entered from the most various quarters." The early church was strongly influenced in the unfolding of its life and the development of its institutions by four tendencies—"the classic Greek speculation, the Hellenized world of thought, the Roman Empire, and more particularly the Old Testament in its various phases." Even Jesus to some extent was molded by his heritage and surroundings. In answering the question, "What did Jesus, the Galilean rabbi, teach as the ethical foundation of human life?" we shall have to distinguish his original doctrines from the teachings of his predecessors and of his contemporaries, as well as from the interpretation of Paul and of John, and even from the frame work of the synoptic narratives. "Three great literary types," says the author, "influenced deeply the thought and style of Jesus. The exalted religious style of the prophetical poetry find frequent reflection in his longer sayings; the somewhat artificial epigram of the wisdom literature has also its counterpart; and the eschatological dreaming and vivid word painting of the latter Jewish period has its corresponding imagery in his latter work."

The question at once arises, in what respect did Jesus consciously transcend or oppose the conclusions of his religious and ethical environment? This very important problem the author discusses in the space of sixteen pages. He concedes much to the religious and ethical views of the lawgivers and the prophets, and yet with all his concessions he vindicates the originality of Jesus and shows his superiority over the most enlightened prophets or philosophers of the Jews or the Gentiles. He says, for example, "The assumption by Jesus of an absolutely ethical God he never established by argument nor would he have claimed for it originality. He would have, indeed did point back to Deuteronomy and the Psalms as setting it forth. What was original in his teaching was the separating that conception from national and ritual entanglements and making it the sole foundation upon which to build up his moral system." In the face of a modern tendency to

resolve the gospel of Jesus into the substance of Old Testament prophecy we shall quote another passage on this point. "The good news that men were in personal relationship with God, independently of the nation's sins, and that personal repentance could establish relationships that even national judgment could not shake, was new religious teaching and exalted the conception of manhood at once. This teaching was in close connection with God's Kingdom as proclaimed by Jesus." After the closest comparison of the teaching of Jesus with that of the Hebrew prophets and the masters of other religions, his uniqueness and supremacy stand out in clearer outline than ever.

Paul was, doubtless, the most influential interpreter of Jesus in the early church. His interpretation of Jesus is based upon his own personal experience. He was controlled in his doctrine and life by the vision of God in the face of Christ Jesus. For him "the righteousness of God is no legal exactness, no unrelenting enforcement of holy law. God's grace is free; we are the free sons of a Father whose love has been not only exhibited but poured out in the life and blood of his Son and what that Father longs for is our sanctification, that we may be companions of his holiness and sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Notwithstanding his spiritual vision and his enthusiasm for ethical freedom, Paul could not wholly shake off the shackles of the past. He was not always capable of putting his principles into practice. A firm believer in the guidance of indwelling grace, "more than once he had to appeal to his own authority and even to threaten with spiritual penalty." He had to go back to a tradition for the administration of the communion feast, as "received from the Lord," and even with him the traditions were not lightly to be despised. In founding organizations charged with the task of oversight and control, "he did not foresee that there would arise out of this organization a legalism and spiritual tyranny as oppressive as the synagogue ever was, and vested with completer political and judicial powers than was ever the

Sanhedrin." His followers failed to comprehend the spirit of his gospel and his words were wrested, now in the interest of license and then of spiritual tyranny. They failed to realize the freedom of the Sons of God.

In Paul's system, however true he was to his Lord, are "the germs of all that came after. For weal or woe an organization sprang up that would have been an historic impossibility without his activity, which changed the dynamic into status, and gave to the world the hierarchy whose ethical system it will become later our task to take up."

In the early church, the period following the primitive communities, there is a marked decline in ethical standards. The hope of the speedy coming of Jesus is dying out. In place of a fervent hope, loyalty to an ecclesiastical organization with its own aims, methods, and equipment controlled the life of the Christians. The basis of unity and fellowship was no longer the spiritual enthusiasm of the apostles and the prophets, but a uniformity of government, creed, and ritual. Law, instead of love, is the supreme motive in the church. Legal regulations became all the more necessary as the church grew more and more homogeneous and her influence increased. Thus the ideals of Jesus or of Paul were not in the ascendant. On the contrary "the ethical systems of the Old Catholic Church, from James to Augustine, may be classed as belonging mainly either to the Judaistic, the Greek, or the Roman type, but with the last interest dominating."

If the Christian ideas were thus modified and even perverted, the reader will ask, how did Christianity survive in this strange environment? The author shows clearly the change of emphasis from the message of Jesus in the synoptic Gospels and the Pauline and Johanine interpretation of that message, to an emphasis upon things Jesus either ignored or hated. "The pharisaic conception of God as lawgiver, and of the religious life as obedience to an outward legalism, and of the Kingdom of God as the success of a temporal and ecclesiastical organization," all of which Jesus so vigorously offered,

are firmly implanted in the Catholic organization of the fourth century. Withal the power of the original gospel was not totally lost. Jesus was still a living force in the lives of the ancient fathers and their followers. "The world could never again think exclusively of God in terms of pharisaism, and even the most exalted Stoicism was unsatisfactory in the presence of the actual ethics of Jesus, and the Gospels were still read."

The degenerating forces, in which the gospel was more and more neutralized by foreign elements, continued through the Middle Age and was not arrested until the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Though scholasticism was not thoroughly purged out of Protestantism, "the fact remains that the Reformation was a new birth and a new baptism, both of what we now call Protestant Europe and of Roman Catholicism." While the Reformers advanced in their ethical ideals beyond the Schoolmen and the Fathers, and approached the conceptions of Paul and Jesus, they were none the less bound by the limitations of their age and influenced by their heredity. "It is perfectly vain" says the author, "to claim that Luther belonged wholly to our modern world. There are wonderfully radical notes in him, and he united great insight into the weaknesses of mediaevalism with boldness and even daring in speech and thought. Yet he remained essentially conservative and even scholastic in temper and method. He never completely reacted from the cloister type of ethics, and in him reactionary forces have found strength and comfort ever since."

Luther's ethics, accordingly, is treated under three heads: his Protestant ethics, his Roman Catholic ethics, and his practical ethics. While he made a great advance beyond the Mediaeval Church and led a "tremendous spiritual reaction against the false and weary legalism of the monkish view of life," he did not altogether free himself from scholastic ideas. The remnants of Roman Catholicism in his system are the following: His claim of infallibility of the letter of the Scriptures (not always consistently held), his ecclesiasticism (which

"conflicts with the teaching of the moral supremacy of the spiritual man"), his dualistic view of the world ("the rude and almost pagan conception of the world inherited from the past"), his doctrine of the relation of the Church to the State ("full of inconsistency, and lacks even the elements of strength possessed by the relatively consistent scholastic view as developed by Thomas Aquinas"), his inclination to medieval "other-worldliness" ("The world is a vale of tears").

Notwithstanding these scholastic elements Luther became the prophet of a new order and marks an advance in the theoretical and applied ethics of the church. He put life before doctrine and vital righteousness before formal correctness whenever the issue was really raised. He made religion a vital factor in social reconstruction. He taught men, as no one had taught them before, that "the daily task is sacred." This became the watchword of a new ethical life. "In hymn and sermon, in work and life, the greatest of the Reformers taught the new-old lesson, rejoice in the Lord always, again I say rejoice."

Calvin's ethics suffers by comparison with Luther's. He is, also, bound by medieval ideas, substituting for Roman imperialism a Scriptural imperialism. "All the medieval morbidness that has so often corrupted Scotch piety has its legitimate roots in the essentially Roman Catholic Scholasticism of Calvin." This whole conception of the Christian life is Roman Catholic rather than Protestant. "Hence on ethical grounds we may say that Calvin was one of the last, though not one of the greatest, of the Schoolmen." The contrast between the two leaders of the continental Reformation is sharply drawn in the following paragraph: "The glory of Protestant ethics as founded by Luther and developed by Kant is the autonomous, democratic, unpriestly character stamped upon it. All men should be kings and priests to God. The ministry according to Luther was purely functional. He did not carry out the logic of his assumption at all times, yet in the main he was true to them. In the last analysis for Luther

the soul must stand alone for truth and trust that it will not be forsaken. In the last analysis for Calvin the soul finds out which church has the sacrament and the word and submits wholly to it. The difference is world-wide. For true ethical development there is no more room in logical Calvinism than in logical Romanism. Ethics has been swallowed up in dogmatics and systematic theology. This is no accident. That is exactly where Calvin put ethics—inside dogmatics."

Calvin's service to the Reformation was in giving it an organization, a fighting theology, and a political creed. Thus, "the Puritan state arose. It was another aristocratic, highly organized theocracy, and its great services should never be forgotten, when as more thorough-going Protestants we recognize its weaknesses and see that it took over the great conceptions of Calvin and treated them as final and ultimate, whereas they are in fact foreign to the spirit of Protestantism."

In his estimates of Calvin the author follows Ritschl and his school. Doumergue, the greatest living specialist on Calvin's life and work, combats this anti-Calvinistic tendency which Ritschl has given to the recent Lutheran theology and by which historians so moderate as F. Kattenbusch and Prof. Loofs are controlled. In an article in *The Princeton Theological Review,* January, 1909, Doumergue offers a very thorough-going criticism of the views of this school. He alludes to Dr. Hall's article in *The Hibbert Journal,* October, 1907, entitled, "Was John Calvin a Reformer or a Reactionary?", the substance of which is reproduced in the volume under review, and concludes his analysis of the article by saying, "The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that there are indeed theologians who have no fear of ridicule." At another place he says: "Dr. Hall is an admirer of Luther. And truly we are sorry for Luther, who is as much above the (Dr. Hall's) eulogies as Calvin is above his criticisms." In the light of these statements, the reader will at once see that the author does not follow the conventional treatment of the work of the Reformers, but is abreast of the

most advanced school of German historians. The article cited above is especially valuable for its strong presentation of the older position.

After a discussion of the Ethics of Pietism, of Post-Tridentine Catholicism, and of Philosophical Protestantism, the study of systematic ethics within organized Christianity is brought to a close. What conclusions has the author reached after so extensive an investigation and so scholarly an analysis? He is primarily impressed by the fact that an absolute and final system of ethics based on an external authority, whether the Church or the Scriptures, is not attainable. Since Hume and Kant have compelled Protestantism to reckon at last with the limits of the human mind, the struggle for an absolute knowledge in theology or in ethics has been a losing battle. As the science of human conduct, ethics, like any other science, must work on the material given in human experience, and is limited like all science by the capacity of the human mind. "The false assurance of an absolute in ethics has been a hindrance to the foundation of new ideals. Thus almost every battle against slavery, feudalism, private war, the duel, persecution for faith's sake, for freedom and toleration has been waged in the face of an absolute ethics that claimed a complete and divinely given content sanctioned by a revealed authority."

Again, the new Protestantism from Hume and Kant on, put faith in the place of authority, "and thus came back again to the divine ethical autonomy of Jesus, who promised a Holy Spirit guiding men step by step into all truth, but who himself felt that the only real basis was the experience of the loving individual heart working on and with the experience of all the ages." Accordingly all authoritative absolutism, whether ecclesiastical or Scriptural, or rationalist, has gone. Is this not an irreparable loss for the development of Christian character? "Christian faith replies that the process (of finding the truth) is more than the immediate product. Our mistakes and wanderings are our training for communion and

fellowship with a Father of free as well as loving children. Only the truth can make us free, and that truth, in ethics as in all other sciences, can only be won by hard work on the materials of human experience. In that struggle for truth Christian faith gives us the assurances that in spite of all mistakes, nay, because of them and through them, we may yet enter the kingdom of God's loving fulfilled purpose."

Another truth brought home to the reader of this History is the fact that the simplicity of Jesus' teachings has been obscured and overlaid by intruding elements. The Church has "substituted theologies which cannot be tested in life, for ethics which may be." It is hoped that the recognition of this fact may lead at last "a chosen band to really resolutely insist upon putting in the foreground, what Jesus put in the foreground, and relegating even true traditions to the background if they are of secondary importance for his purpose." The work of the Reformation is to be completed by stripping "from historical organized Christianity the encumbering grave clothes in which her life has been stifled."

A book like this is a credit to American scholarship and will be welcomed by all thoughtful men, though its viewpoint and conclusions may not be accepted by all. The author has based his argument on a careful study of the sources and of the leading authorities. In his judgments he shows the fearless independence of an original scholar and the modest dependence of a loyal disciple. For orientation in the history of Christian ethics and for a study of the historical method which plays so large a part in modern theology, this book is invaluable to the theological student and the minister of the gospel. What Professor Harnack has done in a far more extensive way in his *History of Dogma,* Dr. Hall has accomplished for the English reader in his *History of Ethics.*

We have observed two typographical errors; the one in the footnote on p. 66 where the word "Secret" should be "Select," and the other on p. 518, also in the footnote, where the term "Hibbard" is used for "Hibbert."

G. W. R.

IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Series D: Researches and Treatises. Edited by H. V. Hilprecht. Vol. V, Fasciculus 1, by H. V. Hilprecht. Published by the University of Pennsylvania.

The fasciculus under consideration is the one which caused so much comment several months ago. In it Professor Hilprecht presents what he believes to be the earliest version of the flood story from Nippur. Readers of the REVIEW will recall the great amount of controversy which the publication of this booklet of 65 pages caused. It is not our purpose here to add any word to this already large controversial material. Rather is it the plan to let the fasciculus speak for itself. Professor Hilprecht takes up each of the three previously published accounts of the flood. Two of these belong to the period of 600–650 B.C. The third to c. 1868 B.C. The tablet discovered by the author dates, he thinks, earlier than any of these. It is fragmentary, as are the others. After a very careful reading of its twelve lines and copious, scholarly notes, he adds in the closing paragraphs: "Owing to the very fragmentary condition of the Nippur tablet, we have to be especially careful in our interpretation of its inscription and in drawing parallels between it and other similar versions. This much, however, it seems to me, can be stated with safety, that in the Nippur Version, in accordance with the exalted position held by Enlil in the Old Babylonian pantheon as 'father of the gods,' it was in all probability this god himself who warned Ut-napishtum (the Babylonian Noah). . . . Here then, as in the Biblical Version, the Lord of the Universe himself both causes the Deluge and saves Noah from destruction by warning him and ordering the construction of an ark." There is added a transliteration, translation and a parallel Biblical version. The work is very thoroughly done, splendidly printed and in every way complete, as are all the works edited by Professor Hilprecht. The tone of the entire little volume is scholarly and direct. The author tells his convictions, reports his discovery with no blare of trumpets, and offers his complete discussion thereon to the learned world. It remains for the Assyriological world to mete out the final judgment. When the matter is thus stripped of all controversy, one wonders where or why all the scholastic heat and thunder arose. We have here a scholar's contribution to a very interesting subject; and he has done it well. The author deserves the thanks of the learned world for his publication as well as for the quick trans-

mission of its value and text to the world. We believe he has here made a definite advance, small as it may seem to the general reader, to the cause, and we congratulate him on its publication.

VICTOR WILLIAM DIPPELL.

THE UNFADING LIGHT. By Caroline Davenport Swan. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co., 1911. Cloth. Pages 170. Price $1.25 net.

The poems gathered into the pages of this beautifully gotten-out volume are all of a religious character. They breathe the spirit of a deeply devout soul, and manifest a very rare and impressive genius of poetic conception and expression. The author is a poet of the true mystic type, having a delicate perception and appreciation of nature, a personal experience of the Divine, and a keen knowledge of and sympathy with the spiritual in human life and character. Many of these poems first saw the light in the pages of the periodical press. There, their gracious ministry by way of quickening hopefulness, dispensing cheer, and affording consolation, has been widely recognized and gratefully acknowledged. In the permanent and attractive form in which these and other hitherto-unpublished pieces now appear, the author's stimulating and suggestive religious helpfulness will be greatly extended and cordially welcomed by lovers of poetry.

A. S. WEBER.

THE COMING CREED. By Parley Paul Womer. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co., 1911. Cloth. Pages 88. Price 80 cents net.

The author of this interesting little book belongs to the class—happily on the numerical increase in our day—who are becoming growingly discontent with "the dogmatic ideal" which has so long prevailed in the life of the Church. To his mind, the "Creeds which in the historic orthodox churches stand for Christianity, are in their present form the survival of a thought-world which has been outgrown." Accordingly he regards them "a hindrance to faith rather than its bulwark." The "Coming Creed," some of the distinguishing features of which the chapters of this book attempt to forecast, will stress "the idea of Christianity as a way of life, the spirit of which is love, rather than as a system of theological and philosophic doctrine." This change of emphasis, he holds, upon unity of spirit instead of intellectual statement or formal dogma, will serve as the basis for the reunion of Christendom, the movement toward which has begun and the realization of which is possible under the gathering force of the new creed. The Rev. Mr. Womer has made a very strong and readable contribution in these essays to current discussions on Church Union, and his message deserves the careful consideration which it is sure to receive among a wide circle of thoughtful readers in the various denominations.

A. S. WEBER.

THE CODE OF THE SPIRIT. By the Rev. Wilford L. Hoopes. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co., 1911. Cloth. Pages 154. Price $1.20 net.

Under the title "The Code of the Spirit" the Rev. Wilford L. Hoopes, who, the title-page is careful to inform us, is "a Priest of the Episcopal Church," presents here ten discourses on the Mosaic Law, together with an introductory essay on "the character of the laws which govern the Spirit," and a concluding one giving "a summary of the Code." The several commandments are all studied, not from the conventional view-point, but rather from one that is largely original to the author. In every instance he looks for the natural fact underlying the law as promulgated by Moses, and considers what he regards as its modern equivalent. The first commandment is translated into "Thou shalt think correctly"; the second into "Thou shalt admire aright"; the third into "Thou shalt create aright"; the fourth into "Thou shalt receive (*i. e.,* absorb) the Spirit of God"; the fifth into "Thou shalt honor those of whom thou art a beneficiary." The adoption of this method enables Mr. Hoopes to present the ancient laws of the Spirit in a way that is at once fresh and interesting, helpful and instructive. The congregations before whom the sermons were originally preached were doubtless stimulated and edified by them. Those reading them in their printed form will likewise be able to gather from them much that is morally illuminating and spiritually valuable.

A. S. WEBER.

WHAT NATURE IS. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co., 1911. Cloth. Pages 74. Price 75 cents net.

An advocate of thorough-going scientific naturalism, in the ten brief chapters comprising the contents of this volume, sets forth the claims and contentions of a naturalistic philosophy. A sentence or two from the author's "Preliminary Orientation" will be sufficient to indicate his religious, or rather non-religious attitude, and the chilling trend of "man's eternal search of truth" as he sees it. "Humanity," he affirms, "is no longer looked at from the traditional point of view. A consensus of the scientific thought of the world places man at the head of the animal kingdom and explains his existence by natural law. Contrary to the experience of the Psalmist that 'the heavens declare the glory of God,' to-day, in the presence of this awful, infinite phenomenon, Man comes to himself and realizes that he is not a minion of nature, as tradition has caused him to believe, but rather a being unfavored, unfriended, unfathered, simply the product of the ceaseless strivings of the elements and energies of Nature." The position thus stated is supported by language that lacks nothing in vigor, and in a spirit of self-assurance that is little short of audacious. A bald and blatant naturalism like this leaves no

room for its advocates to assume the existence of a Divine Personality, and, carried to its logical issues, it removes the foundations which hitherto have upheld whatever is best in individual character and highest in social relations and in national civilization. This is so, at least, if Kant is right in his insistence that "man must believe in freedom, immortality and God, in order to acknowledge and obey the moral imperative." Those willing to accept the conclusions of this book must be prepared, therefore, to surrender their belief in God, and thus to throw overboard not merely religion in general and Christianity in particular, but the very principles also that inspire and sustain morality in men's private and public relations. Before "scientific naturalism" shall be able to accomplish such a revolution, our author will have time to indulge further in his unsound and venturesome speculations.

A. S. Weber.

The Lure of Life: Lyrics of the "Zeitgeist." By Oliver Opp-Dyke. Boston, Sherman, French and Co. Pages 128. Price $1.00 net.

It is with peculiar pleasure that we introduce to the readers of the Review Mr. John B. Opdycke ("Oliver Opp-Dyke"), a Franklin and Marshall graduate of the class of 1898. Although still a young man, Mr. Opdycke is no novice in the poet's craft. Other publications of his, bearing the imprint of Sherman, French & Company, are: *The Unfathomable Sorrow, The Sonnet Psalms, The Omar Sonnets,* and *The Lefra Lyrics.*

In his latest volume, entitled *The Lure of Life,* Mr. Opdycke has assembled a number of short poems which he has happily denominated "Lyrics of the 'Zeitgeist.'" The sixty distinct pieces which make up Part I are veritable lyrics, characterized by a lightness of touch and an easy, buoyant quality, altogether charming. No. xvii will suffice to illustrate this happier mood:

The old world's heart is gladsome,
  Despite the clouds and tears,—
Its rhythmic beat triumphant
  To glorious victory cheers.

I hear it in the bird-song,
  I hear it in the tide,
I hear it in the pulse-beat
  Of heathered mountain side.

I see it in the clover,
  I see it in the corn,
I see it in the dew-drop
  On every happy morn.

I feel it in your heart-throb,
  I feel it in your smile,
I feel it in the hand-shake
  That we exchange the while.

The sixty-two poems of Part II are stanzas of fourteen lines each, and may therefore be accepted as sonnets, although they fail, in other particulars, to conform strictly to the sonnet structure as exemplified in the master, Petrarch, or in his faithful English disciple, Milton.

These sonnets are profoundly interesting. If read with attention and open mind they stimulate thought and are wonderfully suggestive and illuminating. The inspiration of the "Zeitgeist" is everywhere apparent. The evolutionary hypothesis, with all its implications, is frankly accepted and as reverently interpreted and applied. "Cosmic righteousness," as the final and inevitable goal of creative activity, is the main tenet of Mr. Opdycke's creed—the alluring note in all his pleading. Hear his forceful words in No. LI:

> Not by a god external was my soul
> Upon its endless journey fore-ordained;
> Majestically it sweeps unto its goal,
> Or high or low, by inner guidance trained.
> Without, may be a model to extol,
> Without, the inspiration be obtained;
> Within myself the power lieth whole,
> Within, the god through whom the truth is gained.
> Predestination emanates from me,
> What I have been declares what I shall be,
> And what I am, is by divine decree,
> My thought, my word, my act, in summary.
> By this stern law my future is foreknown,—
> The course of all my conduct clearly shown.

In the work under review Mr. Opdycke is consistently thoughtful, serious, and reverent. In execution he is buoyant, easy, and simple—qualities difficult to achieve when a message of more than ordinary import is to be communicated. In view, therefore, of his past achievements and present promise, we shall confidently expect from our young poet better and greater things.

C. Ernest Wagner.

The Spirit of America. By Henry Van Dyke, Hyde Lecturer, University of Paris, 1908–09, Hon. LL.D. (University of Geneva), Hon. F.R.S.L. London. New York, The Macmillan Co. Pages 276. Price $1.50.

It is true of nations as of individuals, that a happy understanding of one another is dependent upon the knowledge of each other's motives and ideals as well as upon their methods and the outward expression of their life. The ancient amity between America and France, therefore, can only be expected to expand and deepen as the two countries look each into the other's mind and read each the other's heart. It is with this purpose in mind that the two chairs were founded, the one at the University of Paris and the other at Harvard University, by Mr. J. H. Hyde, for an annual interchange of professors between France and America.

Dr. Henry Van Dyke's book under review is composed of the lectures he delivered on the occasion of his appointment as Hyde lecturer at the University of Paris, 1908–1909. There are seven chapters in the book, each representing a lecture, viz., "The Soul of a People," "Self-Reliance and the Republic," "Fair Play and Democracy," "Will Power, Work and Wealth," "Common Order and Social Coöperation," "Personal Development and Education," and "Self Expression and Literature."

The title of the book, *The Spirit of America,* immediately suggests the difficult problem of the author. It is not an easy task to define the spirit of an individual, and much less simple to define the spirit of a multitude of people, or a nation. A large vision of the life of the nation is one fundamental requisite of him who attempts the task. As one peruses the book under review, he is impressed on every page with the keen and extensive knowledge of the American people and their purposes and methods, on the part of the author. The book is interesting because it deals with the mind, soul and spirit of the nation. It is not a prosaic rehearsal of the activities of Americans, and dull in the use of statistics, but it is a comprehensive interpretation of the underlying motives and possibilities of those activities with the clear vision of their ultimate victory. The author does not picture America as an immense perfected paradise. He is familiar with her weaknesses and abuses. He regards them, however, as necessary evils in the evolution of her national aim. This is unique, in that it is the first experience in the life of nations to develop a democracy pure and simple. The American people are still in the process of experiment. Their inner judgment dictates and their mental vision pictures to them what they want; but the problem of realizing it challenges the great effort in which they are engaged. This effort is an experiment which the author, as a true patriot, sincerely believes will lead to the perfecting of the form of government which must ultimately become the instrument of any free people.

We cannot discuss all the chapters of the book—which are equally interesting—but in order to give a taste of all let me call attention to the one under the title "Fair Play and Democracy." The spirit of fair play in the life of the people is the first source of the democracy of America. It finds its expression in her first formal document—the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; . . ." The equality for which this document stands is that "the life of all is equally sacred, the liberty of all, equally secure and the right of all to pursue happiness, equally open." "*Equality of opportunity*" therefore is the keynote of the Declaration of

Independence. It assumes that all men are brothers and must deal with one another squarely. This is the spirit of fair play, an innate divine spirit of human nature, and particularly, of the American people. Dr. Van Dyke discusses, in this connection, suffrage and its proper limitations as well as the various organs of our government as instruments designed to promote fair play. This spirit is also pointed out in connection with religious bodies. The democracy is the rich soil for religious liberty which is the secret of the growth and life of religion.

The book is worthy the time of a careful reading and study. The reader will understand his country the better for having read it. He will realize that it is not a perfect country; but in a healthy development, on the whole, toward perfection. Dr. Van Dyke is an optimist. Although he keenly discerns the mistakes that America has made in her sincere effort to fulfil her destiny as a democracy, he also firmly believes they are the necessary blunders in its evolution; and we are on the right track for the practical solution of a government in which the highest ideals may be realized.

W. Stuart Cramer.

Twenty Years at Hull House. By Jane Addams. Pages xvii + 462. 12mo. Price $2.50 net.

In the list of the best-selling non-fiction books for January, 1911, according to *The Bookman, Twenty Years at Hull House* is second only to *The Blue Bird,* Maeterlinck.

Hull House is a social settlement in the midst of the immigrant population of Chicago. The house retains the name of the original owner, who built it for his own personal and business purposes. Coming into the possession of Miss Addams, it has been transformed into an institution far-famed throughout our own and other lands. The single house, by means of the expansive beneficence of Miss Addams and those associated with her, has grown to thirteen houses. The two original residents, Miss Addams and Miss Starr, have multiplied to the present corps of forty residents. The staff includes physicians, attorneys, newspaper men, business men, teachers, scientists, artists, musicians, lecturers in the School of Civics and Philanthropy, and officers in The League for the Protection of Immigrants, and in The Juvenile Protective Association, a visiting nurse, a sanitary inspector and others. Nearly all support themselves by their business and professional occupation, while devoting part of their time to settlement undertakings. The scope of philanthropic activity is measured in part by the physical, intellectual, moral, and social needs of the poor and oftentimes oppressed immigrant population. The field of activity widens from year to year with the constantly increasing opportunity for helpful service. The settlement is an

experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems peculiar to the modern conditions of life in a great city. It aims to develop whatever of social life the neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, and bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and training. The residents engaged in this service must be contented to live quietly side by side with their neighbors, until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interest. They are fellow-citizens of the same community, and share the common lot of the poor; and while by their social service they ameliorate the condition of others, at the same time they themselves attain increased enrichment of character as the result of their philanthropic ministry.

Twenty Years at Hull House is virtually an autobiography which tells the interesting story of the life of Miss Addams, while at the same time it narrates the history of the gradual growth, and the vast yet incalculable results of the social settlement. The book is a great human document, of interest to all readers, but especially valuable to students of social science.

No one in our country has made a more careful study of the problems of the poor than Miss Addams. And there is no one whose utterances on practical sociology command a larger and more sympathetic audience. It is a great distinction that has been accorded Miss Jane Addams of Hull House fame, that citizens of our own country should say of her, that she "is easily the most nationally known and respected woman in American public life." Equally exalted is the tribute of an English visitor to this country, who, writing to the *London Times,* said: "England has Florence Nightingale; America has Jane Addams, who is easily the foremost woman in America. To say that a woman, and that this woman, is one of the greatest influences affecting American life, is the highest praise that can be spoken of it and of her."

In the name, "Kind Heart," bestowed upon Miss Addams by the old blind man, one of her many grateful beneficiaries, is disclosed the secret of her great achievements and of her renown. It is the "kind heart" that is the saving power of the "submerged tenth" of Chicago.

That is the uplifting power of the poor and oppressed of every city and of every nation. The story of Hull House is a beautiful chapter in the story of the Christ.

JOHN C. BOWMAN.

THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

No. 3.—JULY—1911.

I.

THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE.[1]

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It was with much pleasure that I accepted the invitation to come to Franklin & Marshall; and when I chose my subject it seemed to me that there was a certain fitness in talking about the American language, by which I mean the American use of the English language, in an institution which was named for Benjamin Franklin and John Marshall, two masters of language, who thought before they spoke, and who spoke with a full weight of the thought belonging to their age. They spoke with a language that carried the force of authority at once.

I think that there are few subjects of so universal interest as the language that we speak, the means of communication that we have with our fellowmen. Language is, I suppose, the most obvious thing which separates us from our animal friend, the dog. The dog cannot, by either wire or wireless method, convey his sympathy to us. He still lacks the power of speech, although it might sometime be possible for the signal officers of the United States wireless service to interpret

[1] The Phi Beta Kappa address delivered in the chapel of Franklin and Marshall College on June 7, 1911. Stenographically reported.

the various wigwags of his tail. It may be that the dog has a code whose significance man has not yet worked out.

We know how to talk and we feel that our method of speech and the language that we use is something about which we are very susceptible to comment. We feel it is a very personal matter when our language is criticized. We are like Mrs. Malaprop; we pride ourselves on our "nice derangement of epitaphs"; and I suppose one of the reasons of that sense of pride is the fact that we are all of us proud, or anxious, shall I say? or interested, in any change in the use of the mother tongue, that we first learn at our mother's knee, and later, certainly, from the works of the scholars and masters of literary art.

I heard a definition the other day of an educated man. It said, no man could be considered educated who could not speak, write, or read his native language with ease and with elegance. It seems not so very difficult; but as we look in the papers and the books, or listen to the passengers in the cars we find there are not so many educated people in the world. And we like to feel in the use of our speech that we are normal. I think it is easier to communicate with one another when there are few opinions to interfere in the framing of the sentences, or in the spelling of the correspondence, or when the vocabulary does not arrest too much attention. And we like to be normal, and to feel that the way we speak and spell is the way that people ought to speak and spell, and the way that the thought ought to be expressed. We like to express ourselves according to some authority, but of course there are those who think that deference to any specific authority is useless. We cannot always go to the dictionary. But what is the dictionary? The Century Dictionary is the work of William Dwight Whitney. I don't know a better man anywhere. The Oxford Dictionary is but the authority of Sir James Murray. The dictionary has no right to say this or that is so. Nobody has ever given the dictionary the power of the choice of words, even though they have Professor Whitney or Sir James Murray to compile it.

The most the dictionary does is to record usage. In case of doubt it points out one way or another; it simply records usage. Usage is continually changing. So long as the English language has been a living organism, there never have been drawn up any English dictionaries of any size, I think, that contain all the words of the language. There is not a work compiled that contains more than seventy-five per cent. of the English language. When the Century Dictionary was undertaken twenty or twenty-five years ago, I drew the attention of the managing editor to the fact that there was no vocabulary of the stage and the terms of the drama except a few of general use that had gotten into the dictionary, such as "bunch-life" for example, and others. They are not slang words. With the aid of a friend I drew up a fairly large vocabulary of stage terms, and the Century Dictionary did not dare to include more than a quarter of them. They said, "we are going to have only six volumes and we should end by having twenty volumes, if we were to print all the words." The dictionary is simply a work that is evidence in favor of the proper spelling and pronunciation of the words which you wish to find, and ofttimes it does not supply the demand.

As long as the English language is alive, it is going to grow. It is not a dead language like the Latin and Greek. The American pronunciation is also changing. I don't know what the accepted pronunciation of either is. I personally say ēther. A professor once said, "Oh, that word ĭther was brought in by a confounded Episcopalian clergyman." I quoted that once to Bishop McCall, and he said, that neither was not pronounced nĭther but nāther. Nāther is indeed very much closer to the pronunciation of Shakspere than ĭther or ēther. The language is constantly changing. It is changing not only from day to day, but it is changing in a certain degree from place to place. It is not the same here in the United States as it is in the British Islands. Our British friends, our kin across the sea, condescend occasionally to tell us how unworthily we use our common language. Well, I think it was an Englishman who

invented the story that there was a sign hanging up in Venice which said: "English spoken, American understood." I have never seen that sign myself, but it is easily possible. But if I can use the phrase "money talks," money is understood, especially in Venice. And they are perfectly justified in drawing our attention to the fact that they cannot always understand us. My friend, Mr. William A. Pierce, told me that in a certain play running in New York City, there were periods of from two to five minutes that the Britishers would not know what the players were talking about. I believe the play was "Get Rich Quick." You can now understand some reason why the Britishers would not understand it. My friend Mr. Andrew Lang had put into his hands the fables of George Ade in slang, and he gave them up in despair. He saw a passage that read "Mr. A. and his friends went into a spaghetti joint," and he said, very naturally, "I did not know that spaghetti had joints."

We sometimes feel that the attitude toward our language is really expressed by Dean Alford in "Queen's English," published in 1863, when he says: "Look at those people who so amuse us in their speech and books, at their reckless exaggeration and contempt for congruity, and then compare the character and history of the nation, its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man, its open disregard of right where aggrandizement is to be obtained, and I may now say its reckless and fruitless maintenance of the most cruel war in the history of the world." That is one of the cases where our kin across the sea were a little less than kind. That is simply the most violent expression of the British over their dissatisfaction of the way in which we use our common language. And you can understand therefore why there are few Shaksperes or Homers. Professor A. Braun, one of the most distinguished scholars on the continent of Europe, stated, when he was in England, that the English language was better spoken and more thoroughly studied in the United States than in Great Britain. He then heard the roar of the British lion, which

was almost as loud as the scream of the spread eagle. Well, I don't think either the roar or the scream is a matter of very much consequence, although his remark is worth considering because it is partly a statement of fact and partly a statement of opinion. Now as far as the language is more thoroughly studied, he simply stated a fact. We study English to a greater extent historically. I don't mean that we know more about it than they do, yet they have only two to four professors of English to our one hundred. There is not a great deal studied in Oxford and Cambridge. I know there is one professor of English literature in Oxford, and I think they recently appointed another, Mr. Benson. Now we have many more at Harvard and Yale. We do study it with more care. But when he says that it is better spoken and written we have but his opinion, and I think it is a very interesting one. But it is the opinion of one man. How are you going to say that the statement is not true, for Professor Braun has been in England and here? I have been in England also, but I do not think so. Are you going to compare the Oxford professor with the average man whom you meet in the railroad train in America? Are you going to compare the average bred college man with the Oxford man or the London cockney? I don't see how you can accept any opinion except your own. You have no right to force your opinion on anyone else.

One of the striking things about the English language are the terms we call Americanisms. Now what are these Americanisms? What do we mean by the name Americanism? I have never heard a definition that I am willing to accept, except my own. I define an Americanism as a word or term or phrase which is used or understood here in the United States, and which is practically not used or hardly understood in Great Britain. I think most of our British friends would agree to that. Let us consider these Americanisms. They have been collected and I have seen on the same shelf four or five volumes of Americanisms, some by British experts and some by American enthusiasts. They always seem, when you

come to look at the words, to fall into four classes, and as long as they are unclassified it is difficult to come to any conclusion about them.

Taking up the four classes, we have: First, Divided Usage, where we use one word and our British kin another. The second group are the Survivals, where we use the words that have lived longest. The third group are the Indigenous Words, words that are native to us, born in our own country. The fourth is the very extraordinary group of Slang.

Now let me draw your attention first of all to divided usage. You all know that we use the word Autumn far less often than we use the word Fall. They say Autumn, but the normal word we use is Fall. Now take that useful thing which carries you to the top of the building; we call it by the clumsy word "elevator," they have a very simple and excellent word "lift." We speak of an "editorial" in the newspaper, they call it a "leading article," or a "leader." I have seen a short article called a "leaderette," and that shocked me very much. Their word "lift" is a great deal better than our word "elevator," though "farm hand" is a great deal better than "agricultural laborer." We call the watch a "stem-winder" because that is the way it winds up; they don't know what a stem-winder is. We speak of the "educators" of the country, they speak of the "educationists"; street cars they call tramways; for caboose they say van.

When Professor Freeman was in this country some twenty-five years ago, he made this startling statement: "Neither usage can be said to be better or worse than the other. Each usage is better in the land that it has grown up in by itself." One thing that is necessary is, that you be able to make yourself understood when the occasion requires. If you want the elevator you better ask for the lift.

The second group in the class of Americanisms is the survivals. Here we can make a pretty good fight. The word Fall is an old English word, which the British will be willing to drop out. They are ancient land-marks. "To have a good

time" is as far back as Dryden; "deck" of cards is going out of use in America although that is found in Shakspere. "He makes me mad" is in Pepys' Diary. "To settle his hash" is in the Pickwick Papers. Look at the King James' Version of the Bible that we are celebrating now. "Peter's wife's mother lay sick of the fever"; although the Britishers object to this, the British officers themselves go on a sick leave. It is delightful to see how many of those older terms we have preserved. A friend of mine told me that his two sisters some years ago were walking along the Eastern coast, and they found an old man on the shore and they asked the way to the hotel. "Do you want the nighest way or the sightliest way" inquired the old man. They said they wanted the sightliest way, and he said, "That is the nighest." What delightful phrases! If they survive in men, so much the better for man. As Lowell, in dealing with the English language in the use of Americanisms, said: "Following the fashion of our ancestors, who could unhappily bring over no English better than Shakspere's." It is good old English they have allowed to die out. We are truer to the past than the British are. We are more truly conservative. We have preserved the ancient landmarks, and, it seems to me, that should count to us for righteousness.

Then we come to the third group, the group of the things made or found here in America to which we simply had to give names. When we found or invented anything we put a name on it—telephone, phonograph, typewriter, elevator, and ticker. All things which we invented, we invented names for; but you can't call them Americanisms, for I think that is incorrect. "Ranch" for example, in our sense of the word, means a farm for herding purposes. I knew a Californian who said he was running a "hen ranch." When my friend, a Britisher, was asked to publish a book in London called "A Blazed Trail" he said: "Don't you think 'Blasé Tales' is rather a bad title for the book?"

Now, typewriter, phonograph and grain elevator are things which we invented, to which we have given names. We took

over some names from our Indian friends—moccasin, tomahawk, canoe; from the French, prairie; from the Dutch, stoop, etc. Other names have come into use, such as jinrickisha, which are perfectly legitimate.

Now we come to the fourth group of slang. And here I am going to ask your permission to divide this class into two groups, the one that we all ought to abhor, that is, the cheap, trivial slang, however foolish it may be. A little while ago we heard, "twenty-three" and "skidoo," "shoo fly, don't bother me." I don't think we have any more of those slang phrases than our British friends. Theirs are just as many and foolish as ours; "how is your put fit," "there he goes with his eye out," "all serene," etc.

Then there is another kind of slang which I always like to see excepted carefully from any attack. That is the figurative expressions, such as Bret Harte uses in his thrilling and descriptive western stories, or as Cooper uses in "The Last of The Mohicans." Another—"tanglefoot whiskey" is not demoralizing, but very descriptive. You may remember the sign put up in the saw mill; "Everybody is warned not to monkey with the buzz saw." We know exceptionally well what that means; there is no imagination needed there. You can call it slang, and it is slang; but the word "buzz" is a very descriptive word; and the word "monkey"—everyone knows at once what that means. "To make solid with" and "go back on" are excellent. If you will allow me to quote Professor Lounsbury: "Slang is an effort on the part of users of language to say something more vividly, strongly, concisely than the language as existing permits to be said. Slang is therefore the source from which the decaying energies of speech are constantly refreshed." Another expression, quite common—"it is up to you to make good"; I think Ben Johnson would use that without the slightest hesitation.

The survivals are contributions to the language; and the slang good or bad, as far as one country or the other is concerned, both are defensible, and as far as the good is concerned,

I think we are rather better off than our British friends. "Blizzard" and "boom" are both good descriptive words. Quoting Lowell again, he said: "A word that cleaves to the memory is always a good word; that is the way to test them." A professor of Greek in John Hopkins used the word "windjammer." It is a fine word, and so is every Anglo-Saxon compound that has grown and is not made.

Now, on the other hand, there are Briticisms. A Briticism is a word, or a term, or phrase constantly used in Great Britain and always understood there, which is rarely used and hardly understood in the United States. Now let us take some words coined in Great Britain and not accepted in the United States. I think we have pretty well accepted the word "fad." It has entered the English language, just as the word typewriter. They speak of things "capped" by the typewriter, while we say "typed"; of a sermon as a sermonette—that seems to me the most offensive of all. I was charged excess on baggage while traveling in England. I paid the excess, whereupon my baggage was certified "excessed." Then they have a good many grammatical freaks in common use. They say "directly," instead of "as soon as possible." "He will arrive directly," when they mean "he will arrive as soon as possible."

The English language is no longer the possession of the inhabitants where it had its origin; it belongs to those who speak it by native gift, it does not make any matter where they live. They own the speech, they own the language. It is my birthright and your birthright, and it is growing and developing, being kept alive in the mouths of millions of people in the British possessions, in Canada, in India, in South Africa, in the Pacific islands. In each one of those places it has special needs. There are Americanisms and Briticisms. What the British call "rough," we call "tough," and the Californians call "hoodlums." Now the language belongs to all these people. They are all making their contributions to it. Nothing could seem more foolish than an action of the Continental Congress, probably here in your city, when one of the members,

full of patriotism, moved "that we people of the United States abandon the use of the English language." Roger Sherman of Connecticut was very sensible, and he arose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I move to amend by substituting that we retain the English language, and force the British to speak some other."

Now the entire point or moral, to sum up what you have been kind enough to listen to this evening, is in the fact, that we have retained the English language and we have not forced the English to speak some other. We all speak it, at all times. There is a difference in pronunciation, a difference in the use of slang expressions and a difference in spelling. Let us hope that the difference in spelling will grow less as rapidly as possible; that is the black spot on the English language. The Dutch are gaining a march on the English in that direction.

The one thing I tried to bring out is that English literature is the literature of the English language. Our branch of literature, American literature, however, to the rest of the world is known as the American branch of the English literature. You may find certain original British gifts in British books; you will also find American originality in American books. There is one quotation which I should like to make before I stop. It is a quotation from that admirable historian, the late John R. Green. You will find it in the history of the English people.

But in so far as numbers count, you must remember that the numbers are now with us. That is going to put a very great responsibility on us, which will really lie in our hands. I shall not live to see it, when the American branch of contemporary English literature will be more important than the British, but it will have to come.

Green said: "Since 1776 the life of the English people has flowed not in one current but in two, and while the older has shown little sign of lessening, the younger has fast risen to a greatness which has changed the face of the world. It is already the main branch of the English people, and in the days that are at hand the main current of that people's history

must run along the channels not of the Thames or Mersey, but of the Hudson and the Mississippi." What I like about that statement is the essential and fundamental note of friendly harmony which is and ought to be between the various sections of the English speaking race we call Anglo-Saxon. I think the time has come when this is the main current. It will be a larger and larger current as time flows on, and that puts a larger, a heavier and wider responsibility upon us,—the development of the American language, which is what I am talking about,—the English language which we have kept.

II.

THE NECESSITY AND FUNCTION OF SUFFERING IN A MINISTER'S LIFE.

W. F. HEIL.

II. Timothy 1:12. "For the which cause I also suffer these things: nevertheless I am not ashamed: for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day."

The supreme purpose for which Christ came into the world and to which He gave himself, was the salvation of man. The gospel, of which He is the life, is the power of God to save. Its proclamation attracted multitudes, especially the poor and uneducated who, without comprehending its reach, believed it and experienced the fruits of purity, peace and joy. By a simple faith they entered into a real experience but it was largely influenced and limited by the conditions in which they lived. The simple faith of a child is beautiful and affords real comfort, but the mother whose heart was wrung by a thousand sorrows knows that many testings lie between it and maturity of strength. It was necessary that the gospel should find a man in whom existed the largest combination of heart and mind in order to meet the questionings of such a nature and furnish proof of its power to satisfy its religious needs.

No person could have furnished a better field for the experiment of the gospel than Saul. In him was a combination of spiritual forces rarely found to such a degree in any one person. He had the spirit of a mystic and the mind of a philosopher. Not only was he fitted to become the best example of the operations of grace in Christ Jesus by natural endowment, but by training also. In him the gospel encountered the

[1] Sermon delivered before the graduating class of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, at Lancaster, Pa., May 10, 1911.

result of Jewish and Greek culture with all their increment of tradition. Instructed by the ablest rabbi and devoted to the institutions and traditions of his people with a devotion that leaped into a flame of unquenchable zeal whenever their perpetuity was threatened, enriched by his study of Greek philosophy, he knew what these could contribute to human redemption and in his experience the gospel was brought into competition with these systems and in order to supplant them, it had to make a larger contribution to the salvation of man than they could make.

The emotional nature of Saul made him a vehement advocate of any cause to which he gave allegiance. It was entirely natural for him to persecute the Christians so long as he believed them to be the followers of an heretic. After his conversion, an experience which made the gospel the power of God to save and Christ the divine Lord to him, all the powers of his ardent soul were enlisted in the defense of his newly experienced faith. Frequently his vehemence suggested madness to those who knew not the love which constrained him and his indifference to physical comfort and a readiness to make any sacrifice gave rise to the charge that he was suffering foolishly. His replies to these charges disclosed the character and force of the motive which impelled him and afford an opportunity to see the foundations on which he rested his life.

The second letter to Timothy was written from Rome where the condition of Paul was full of discouragement. He was in prison, many of his friends had forsaken him and Luke alone of those who had accompanied him in his missionary tour, remained with him. He felt the need of human sympathy, a fact which appears in the epistle, but he was also very anxious to strengthen Timothy and for this reason his tone is confident to the point of triumph. The text contains an allusion to his sufferings and the declaration that he is not ashamed in his affliction because of his personal trust in Christ.

Paul was not in doubt as to the cause for which he suffered. It was the gospel of which he "was appointed a preacher, and

an apostle, and a teacher" to which he had devoted himself and for which he was suffering "these things." The causes for which men die are not originally a part of themselves; they are without them but transferred to their hearts by a supreme affection. True nobility is possible only by identification with a noble cause and entire subordination to it. Neither brilliance nor power can save a man from the obloquy of selfishness but sacrifice can. Paul ceased to think of himself apart from the gospel and found pleasure in being only because it afforded him the opportunity to preach it. He never regarded his call to be an apostle a common-place. To him it was a matter of supreme importance and he never tired of citing it as a source of authority. In his address to the mob in Jerusalem, in his defense before Agrippa and in every epistle he plants himself squarely on his call to be an apostle. He was an apostle "not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father."

If it is true that an all-wise Creator impresses on every human being a call to some pursuit, a call written in the mental and physical constitution of that being, and makes obedience to the correct interpretation of that call the condition to perfect success, then much more does he write the call to be a minister of his word into the hearts of those chosen by him. The ministry of the gospel is therefore a high and holy calling and the high regard for it expressed so frequently by Paul should animate all who love the gospel. It is not a vocation to be classed with professions which deal with the physical only nor is it to be pursued with a view to personal aggrandizement. It is the calling of God transcending in sublimity of authority, nobility of purpose and beauty of service all other vocations. "Other educators of the human race have undoubtedly magnificent work to do. The artist's province is to train the eye and the imagination to the discovery of the beautiful in art and nature. The naturalist is to unravel before our wondering admiration the marvellous volume of the material universe. Each finds his highest aim in the unfolding of the ways of

God to the soul of man and thus placing that soul nearer to God. The preacher, however, while appreciating all these things most highly, knows how much more important are the truths he has to urge on the consciences and hopes of man. Their labors touch but the outworks of the soul, but his penetrate to the citadel; the secret shrine of motives is the place he is to change from a sepulcher, where lie dead men's bones, into a palace, where the Spirit of Truth may find a home."

That the reception and defense of the gospel are often attended by suffering is plainly taught by Christ and re-affirmed by the apostle. This does not relate to the common lot of man, the "burden" and the "thorn" as Clow designates it, but the suffering which attaches to discipleship and more especially to the Christian ministry, a suffering which might be escaped by renouncing faith in the gospel. Christ never disguised the fact that to follow him imposed self-denial but made the bearing of the cross for him the mark of discipleship for which he looked with an interest approaching eagerness. His own experience was to be typical of that of his followers; they were to be hated by all men; they were to be afflicted and killed for his sake. In addition to enduring affliction due to the hostility of the world Christ taught the necessity of practising a self-denial which, in many instances, involved positive suffering.

Saul contributed to the fulfilment of Christ's prediction concerning the afflictions of his followers, for he hated him and his disciples and used all his resources in persecuting them, but after his conversion, he immediately takes the same attitude towards suffering for Christ's sake as that set forth in the prophecy of his Lord, becomes a practical example of suffering for him, and in his epistles presents what might be called a doctrine of suffering according to which it is an inevitable condition of discipleship, an experience to which Christians are appointed and without which they cannot share in the glory and triumph of their Lord. The sufferings endured by Paul because of the gospel, involved his whole nature including his travail of soul in connection with his conversion, the

"buffeting of Satan," anguish for the salvation of his brethren and the physical pain and discomfort which attended his ministry.

The necessity for this suffering lay chiefly in the nature of the kingdom of the world and its hostility to the kingdom of Christ. The carnal mind is enmity against God and cannot be subject to him. The kingdom of Christ does not fuse with that of the world. It is neither subordinate nor co-ordinate but supreme; it overcomes and supersedes the kingdom of the world in the life of the believer and through him in the life of the community. To receive the kingdom of God is to experience what may be termed a radical change of character accompanied by deep soul-movements amounting, in many instances, to travail. The life of the individual is the life of the community in miniature and the impact of the Christian life, its principle and power, with the life of a worldly community, is not infrequently violent, resulting in opposition and persecution.

The institutions of the world and their standards are semi or anti-christian. It is likely impossible to find a single social, industrial or political institution that is altogether Christian. Even the Church is not free from anti-Christian elements. Semi-Christian institutions may be transmuted into parts of the kingdom of Christ without violence, but very often these insist on being supreme, refuse to become subordinate and resist the process of transformation with violence. The Jewish Church is a perfect illustration of such resistance and consequent violence. It had reached a high state of organic perfection when Christ came and refused to be an intermediate in the process of development of which God had made it a part. Had the Judaic system accepted this transition as the natural consequent of its purpose, there would have been no violence; but it refused to do so, claimed a measure of finality and resisted the kingdom of Christ unto the death. Its death was inevitable, but instead of choosing the quiet and fruitful death of the grain of corn which sinks into the earth and becomes the seed of a

harvest, it chose to die violently. In fact, tradition had added so much to the original character and purpose of the temple, that the preservation of its traditions had become more important to the Jewish hierarchy than the advent of the kingdom.

In the evolution of ecclesiastical, social, industrial and political systems, the same experience is repeated indefinitely. It is easily traced in the conflict of the primitive Church with heathenism to the development of an ecclesiasticism ostensibly Christian but really semi-Christian; in the irrepressible struggle of piety, liberty and truth culminating in the Reformation; in the pietistic and doctrinal controversies which upheaved the various branches of the Christian Church since then. No one can read the history of the religious wars of Europe for the first time without being overwhelmed with confusion, humiliation and pain. The same painfully violent process is active in the industrial world. The laborer has come up from bondage to a condition of comparative liberty and comfort, but the way was marked by blood. This generation will doubtless witness similar advances attained by similar struggles and also at the cost of blood. The way of the human race up from the tribal through the feudal and monarchical systems to the modern republic was a continuous battle and the present transition from the republic to a democracy is no less bitter and painful. These processes are cited because that which makes for larger liberty, greater happiness and a better morality in all these historic movements is essentially Christian and they illustrate why those identified with the kingdom must suffer. With the advance of civilization methods of warfare and the character of armaments change, but whether the weapon employed is the rifle or the industrial boycot or social ostracism, the conflict is the same and those who would be worthy of fellowship with Him must be heroic and willing to endure for His sake.

A further reason for the necessity of suffering on the part of those who belong to the kingdom of Christ, lies in the spiritual unity of the Church. The Church is the body of Christ and is to

be as vitally one as is the human body. Paul delights to use the body as a figure of the unity of the Church. The suffering endured by any part of this spiritual body becomes a source of pain to every other part in which consciousness of the former's suffering has been produced. This must be discussed as an ideal rather than a fact, since the Church is still very far removed from that condition of spiritual unity which imparts a common and universal consciousness. In it the individual will be merged in the body and his interests as well as the interests of separate organizations, if such will endure till then, will be identified with the interests of the body general. There will be a sum total of sorrow which the whole Church and every part of the Church will make her own.

Accepting, then, suffering as a necessary experience of those who follow Christ, the question, whether this suffering has any useful function presents itself. Does the endurance of affliction result in a reaction favorable to Christian experience? There is an economic principle by which the wrath of man is made to praise God and it is reasonable to believe that suffering patiently endured becomes a ministry of blessing. Such suffering affords needed personal discipline; it enlarges the sphere and increases the power of service; it makes the Christian life an inspiring example of faith in the reality and value of spiritual things.

A statement by Luther suggests the theory that a wise Providence will permit tribulation to come into every life in which it may become the means of wholesome discipline. The experience recounted by Paul in his second letter to the Corinthians shows that the "thorn in the flesh" was given for this purpose. The unspeakable revelations which had come to him became a temptation to "over-much exaltation" and to save him from this vice the messenger of Satan was permitted to buffet him. Whatever this affliction may have been, that it proved a sore trial and was the cause of much discomfort is evident. Its removal was earnestly and importunately sought, but the prayer was not answered because the apostle needed the dis-

cipline which this experience afforded. It seems strange that so sane and heroic a character should need the help of physical discipline in order to be saved from inordinate pride and we only accept this conclusion because it rests on his own statement concerning this matter. Human nature, however, furnishes many illustrations of the necessity of positively painful experiences as safe-guards against the insidious vice of pride. Few ministers can be spared the humiliation of defeat in their plans and failures in their public efforts, if they are to gain that humility which is the inseparable part of real greatness in character and service. Not only was the apostle saved from undue exaltation, but he received a wonderful enlargement of faith, for he could rejoice in his infirmities and believe that his strength was made perfect in weakness. Practically the same truth is taught in the fifth chapter in his letter to the Romans, but it is given a much wider application. Against his strikingly bold statement of the Christian's glorying in the "hope of the glory of God" he places the declaration "We also rejoice in tribulations." The meaning of the rugged word "tribulation" is not obscure. But how can Christians rejoice in tribulations? Certainly not because the experience is pleasant for it is grievous, but because it worketh patience and an abiding hope. This is the fruit of affliction, a mature Christian experience which gives depth to life and enables the soul to touch every chord and evoke from apparently broken strings, the fullest and richest harmony. "It is the unspeakable sadness of our common lot that gives that lot whate'er of sweetness and beauty it can call its own." Mrs. Spurgeon was very ambitious to aid her husband in his manifold work, but she was an invalid. For a time it was impossible to resign herself patiently to her lot. One dark, winter's night while she was sitting by the open hearth, her ear caught what seemed like the note of a bird. Knowing that no bird could be near she searched for the place whence came the sweet note and found that it was issuing from the oak log on the hearth. The fire was releasing the imprisoned music as it snapped the fibers.

Mrs. Spurgeon understood the message and said, "Ah! when the fires of affliction draw songs of praise from us, then indeed are we purified, and our God is glorified! Perhaps some of us are like this old oak log—cold, hard and insensible; we should give forth no melody were it not for the fire, which kindles around us and releases tender notes of trust in Him and cheerful compliance with His will! Singing in the fire! Yes! God helping us, if that is the only way to get harmony out of these hard, apathetic hearts, let the furnace be heated seven times hotter than before."

In connection with the discipline which suffering brings is associated an enlarged service, enlarged in its adaptation and power. It aids the minister in understanding the experience of the brother who staggers under his burden and gives him a place of contact. How strange and confounding is the life which sweeps out into a turbulence and unrest which we have never known! What a sense of helplessness invades and paralyzes the soul! How unprepared to help! But no life can pass through all the reaches of suffering and sorrow and there will always be depths which we have not nor can fathom. This is true and yet there is that which is akin to mystery in the Christian experience; it is the possibility of reproducing in ourselves the sorrow of another without its actual antecedents. It is the substitution of ourselves for another which means such an identification of ourselves with others that we experience as our own their struggles, darkness and desolation. This power to get into the other man's feeling and point of outlook is invaluable in the ministry. It makes it possible to grip the lost brother and hold him. This is filling up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ. "Here then is the principle," says Jowett, "The gospel of a broken heart demands the ministry of bleeding hearts. As soon as we cease to bleed we cease to bless. When our sympathy loses its pang we can no longer be the servants of the passion." Paul displayed this sympathy and the resultant suffering continuously. He was afflicted for the consolation and salvation of his people. He ceased not to pray and wrote "out of much affliction and anguish of heart

and with many tears." Dr. Berry of England entered on the most fruitful era in his ministry through an experience which came to him in connection with an effort to point an outcast to Christ. Before that his ambition had been to make his ministry an exposition of profound philosophy and an example of literary beauty, but afterwards he was willing to immolate his ambition on the altar of a sacrificial service.

In addition to all that has been said, the patient and joyous endurance of suffering for Christ's sake makes such a life an inspiring example of a confident faith in the reality and value of spiritual things. In such a life there is a quantity unknown to the world and it knows not how to reduce the equation to find it. It is this fact that made the blood of martyrs the seed of the Church and made the apocryphal statement of Hus "to-day you are roasting a goose but from mine ashes will arise a swan whom you cannot destroy" literally true. Bunyan makes the blood of Faithful witness against the Town of Vanity and the departing pilgrims "found that they had a benefit in such a man's sufferings as his were." To endure sufferings to the point of death for Christ's sake, to give up positions, emoluments and comforts for the sake of preaching the gospel, silences the gainsayer. Returning from a service one day, one of the worshippers remarked to the other, "Did not pastor B. preach a fine sermon?" The person addressed replied, "He ought to, for he gets three thousand a year for doing it." The first speaker answered thus, "Mr. B. and I were class-mates at college. He was my superior in every way and would doubtless have been a brilliant success in any profession he might have chosen. He accepted a call the ministry and has been preaching for three thousand and less. I engaged in business and have for years made ten thousand a year. He is sacrificing at least seven thousand a year in order to preach the gospel." He who enters the ministry because it offers him the best livelihood is no honor to it, but he who makes large sacrifices in order to obey the divine call to this work, honors God, blesses humanity and refutes the charge of selfishness so often raised against the ministry.

Paul's enumeration of the things he endured for the sake of the gospel cannot be read without experiencing a high regard for him, but the manner in which these sacrifices were made is quite as remarkable. He endured all with enthusiasm and holy joy. His epistles contain no despondent notes. "He was troubled on every side but not distressed; perplexed but not in despair; persecuted but not forsaken; cast down but not destroyed." For this remarkable state of mind he gives two reasons, the first of which is his personal acquaintance with and trust in Christ. "I am not ashamed for I know whom I have trusted." To understand this personal relation it must be interpreted in the light of the apostle's conversion at which time Jesus appeared to him. We must agree with Findlay when he says, "The conversion of Saul is a psychological and ethical problem, the solution of which is to be found only in the actual appearance of Jesus Christ to his senses on his way to Damascus as he believed this to have taken place." Paul saw Jesus and this became an important fact in his experience out of which grew a personal faith that enabled him to deal with Christ as a person whom he knew and trusted. In his creed the essential fact was Jesus and regarding Him he regarded His Deity, His atoning death, His resurrection and His eternal power and glory as certainties. God had become personalized in Christ and this anchorage enabled him to outride every storm. The vitality of a creed lies in the truth it embodies and this truth vitalized passes from the abstract to the concrete which in the realm of the spiritual and ethical is the personal. The virtues are latent as an abstract idea but become vital in the character of a person. Here we have what is at once most essential but also most difficult in Christian faith, to know God as a person and to live in personal fellowship with him. It is easier to think of an impersonal power, to hold a pantheistic conception of God, but it is also infinitely less satisfactory. It is probably due to our materialistic environment and the necessity of dealing with matter as it can be known through the physical senses, that it is hard for us to image the spiritual. Christ was God manifest in the flesh and this form of God was not so hard

to understand, but to many God became anthropic and they failed to discern that greatness of God which could not be expressed in human form. The gropings of scientists, their reference to a force, their ascription of intelligence to that force and their apprehension of a possible personality in that force show how real is the difficulty. But seeing and dealing with him rests not so much on induction as on intuition. Faith always outdistanced science and, probably, always will do so. It lives in the up-lands while science surveys and charts the low-lands. It was by faith that Paul knew and trusted Christ.

The experience of Jesus also shows how slow were the people to rise to a positive faith in Him. They were ready to believe in His works, to see the signs, but slow to interpret them as a proof of His real character. The most striking example is furnished by Philip in his request that Jesus show them the Father. In the kindly reproof of the Master there is a note of disappointment. "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, Shew us the Father? Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works' sake." The works of Jesus were a scaffolding from which the people might see Jesus, but from these they could only see Him as a worker of wonders but to those who permitted Him to lift them into personal fellowship, He revealed the Father. In the spiritual consciousness of the believer the three persons in the Trinity coalesce and become one holy, righteous, adorable person whom we worship and with whom we fellowship. Whether it is Paton who went into the little inner room of his home to pray, while the mother and children walked quietly and whispered "God is in there" or the vicar of Wiltshire to whom "a word to God was always a word from God" or the believer of to-day, he only worships to whom God becomes a personal presence.

In the second part of his statement Paul spans the space between the present and "that day" and rejoices that his "deposit" with Christ will be safely kept. It is needless to speculate concerning the meaning of "deposit," for nothing

but his all, his "body, soul and spirit," can satisfy the scope of the statement. The apostle always set his present experiences against the future and in that future he found the corollaries which inspired and cheered him. If I suffer, I shall reign. The "will be" was uppermost in his mind. In his consecration to Christ he ceased to think of himself except in relation to his Lord and his kingdom. He had become a slave and had transferred the responsibility of proprietorship to Christ. This consecration resulted in a serene trust for the future. He had placed his treasures where they were safe, Yea, he had put himself in his Lord's keeping and could go forth to fight the fight of faith without hindrance. But Paul's conception of Christ's power included more than his ability to keep the "deposit" he had made with Him; it became complete in the consummation of the kingdom of God. All rule, all authority and power will be put down and the sovereignty of Christ will be universal and unquestioned. This deposit of himself would be preserved unto this heavenly kingdom in identification with which he would enjoy immortality. Everything was related to "that day" of fulness of triumph and glory.

In view of such a future the enthusiasm of Paul becomes intelligible and we can understand his joy in suffering. This was making the best investment of himself and justified his earnest admonition to Timothy to make and maintain a similar consecration. The glory of the gospel, the blessedness of sacrifice for it and the glorious and immortal fellowship with Christ in his kingdom should make it impossible to be "ashamed of the testimony of our Lord." Therefore loyalty to Christ should be the supreme end of life; sacrifice, even death, for him should be counted a privilege. In the perilous times, when boasters and lovers of pleasure will not endure sound doctrine, when the demand for a liberal gospel will cause teachers to swerve from the truth, afflictions are to be endured, the work of an evangelist is to be done, and full proof of the ministry is to be given.

ALLENTOWN, PA.

III.

THE JOHANNINE INTERPRETATION OF THE WORK OF CHRIST.

WILLIAM C. SCHAEFFER.

In passing from the Pauline epistles to the Johannine writings, the student at once becomes aware of a change in style; and, if he is a careful observer, he also very soon becomes conscious of a deeper contrast. Many of the familiar Pauline words and phrases, if not entirely absent, occupy a far less prominent place. A new set of ideas receives the emphasis. Thus the word "justify" (*δικαιόω*), which occurs so often in the Pauline epistles, is entirely absent from both Gospel and the First Epistle. The same is true of the words "justification" (*δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις*), "redemption" (*απολύτρωσις*), "reconciliation" (*καταλλαγή*), and "reconcile" (*καταλλάσσω*), while the word "righteousness" (*δικαιοσύνη*), which occurs in Paul more than fifty times, is found in John only five times. On the other hand, the word "propitiation," which is found in Paul only once, is found in John at least twice, though its form is *ἱλασμός* instead of *ἱλαστήριον*.

This does not mean that the fundamental doctrines of Paul are either ignored or denied by John; it signifies rather that there is a difference of accent. John approaches his subject from a different standpoint from that occupied by Paul; and hence he places the emphasis differently. He wrote for a new age, under different circumstances, for a different set of readers, and with a new set of problems before him.

This difference of standpoint appears especially in the view which is taken of the work of Jesus Christ. Paul lays emphasis on the death of Jesus; for John the life of Jesus is of greater importance. Paul wrestles with the great problems of sin and

atonement; John is concerned with the question of how life is given to dying men, and nourished in them. Paul approaches the work of Christ from the soteriological standpoint; John starts from the Divine side, from the temporal mission of the eternal Son. Paul sums up that work under the head of redemption; for John's mind its most important feature is found in the revelation of the Father.

As we shall, I think, presently see, there is no contradiction, but rather a change of emphasis; and yet that change is so great that one is forced to the conclusion that the two represent different types of New Testament thought.

I. *Revelation.*—The proper starting point for a study of the Johannine conception of the work of Christ is hence, not its soteriological, but its Divine side. What does the work of Jesus mean in relation to God? That is prior to the question as to its meaning for man. Jesus "came forth from the Father" (16:27); he was sent by the Father (5:37); he came on a Divine mission. This mission was twofold: on the one hand it was to make known the Father's name unto men (17:6); on the other, to save men and bring them back into communion and fellowship with God (3:16, 17). According to the Johannine conception the latter was accomplished through the former (17:3).

In the great high priestly prayer, Jesus spoke of his work as already accomplished. "I glorified thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which thou hast given me to do" (17:4). And then, after praying that the Father would now glorify him, with the glory which He had with Him before the world was, he goes on to define what that work was. "I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world" (17:6). His death was still in the future, indeed foreseen and foretold, but not yet accomplished. In his mind, therefore, there was something which was of greater importance and of deeper significance than his death; and that was, as just intimated, his life through which he revealed the Father unto men.

This is the thought with which the Gospel opens. Jesus is from the beginning represented as the eternal Word of the Father, the Word made flesh, through whom the otherwise unknowable and unapproachable God has come forth in self-revelation. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him" (1:18). And of this thought the Evangelist never loses sight throughout the whole of the Gospel. Jesus is constantly represented as speaking the words which the Father had given him; as doing the works which he had seen with the Father. "I speak the things which I have seen with the Father" (8:38). "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing from himself; but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son doeth in like manner" (5:19). "Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou, Shew us the Father?" (14:9).

1. Jesus made this revelation through His word. Though there is probably less of direct teaching on the nature and character of God than in the Synoptics, there are, at least, several statements which are illuminating. Thus the only statements, found in the New Testament, which at all approach a definition of who and what God is, are found in the Johannine writings. These are, "God is spirit" (4:24), "God is light" (1 Jn. 1:5) and "God is love" (1 Jn. 4:7).

The Samaritan woman, with whom Jesus spoke at Jacob's well, had very defective conceptions with reference to the nature and worship of God. She thought of Him as a local deity, to be worshipped at the shrine where He abode; and hence she was perplexed whether Jerusalem or Mount Gerizim was the place where He should be worshipped. Jesus said to her, "God is spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth." The best translation omits the article "*a*" and writes the word "*spirit*" with a small *s*. The meaning is that, as to His nature, God is, not corporeal and

hence local, as this woman conceived Him, but spirit and hence universal.

Jesus also called God Father. Here He simply calls Him "the Father." That describes Him as to His character, and in His relation to men. He is not an angry deity, who must be approached with sacrifices and offerings, in fear and dread; but a loving Father, who delights in the devotion and love of His children. And the expression imples that He is not simply the Father of the Jews; He is "*the* Father," the Father of heaven and earth, the Father of all men, in whose love even this Samaritan woman had an interest. It was a word of far-reaching significance; and it contains a glorious revelation,—the revelation contained in the other definition, "God is love" (1. 4:7).

2. Jesus also revealed the Father in His work. He represented His works as being in reality, not His own, but the Father's. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing" (5:19). "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself; but the Father abiding in me doeth his works" (14:10). The works of Jesus were really the Father's, and the Father's glory shone through them.

This is especially true of the miracles, as presented in this Gospel. John calls them "signs," and through them he "manifested forth his glory" (2:11). They are recorded, not for their own sake, nor for the sake of the impression which they made on the multitude, but because of their evidential value. Each one of them is a sign of some aspect of His glory; and hence they are frequently given as an introduction to some discourse or discussion.

But the word "works" is to be taken in a broader sense than miracles. It has reference to His entire activity. All that He did was a manifestation of the divine life. This is especially true of His works of love; and above all of His self-sacrifice. As He moved about among men, having compassion upon them,

healing their diseases, and comforting them in their distresses, He but showed forth what the Father's attitude toward them is. It is true, there is less said in the Fourth Gospel about His being moved with compassion toward the multitude than in the Synoptics; yet it is this Gospel which points out the greatness of His love. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (15:13). And it was in this life of love that God's love toward us (I. 4:9) was manifested.

3. In saying this, we have already in part anticipated the highest form of this revelation. Above His words, above His works, His person was the revelation of the Father. That is the conception of the Prologue. Jesus is the Word incarnate; and John used this expression, because he saw in His sinless perfect life the full and final self-utterance of God. In Philo and the Greek philosophies the word Logos meant either reason or word, thought or the expression of thought; in the Fourth Gospel, it has but the one meaning, the Word. And in the connection in which it is used, it means the utterance, the self-expression of God. Because in His personal life He was this self-utterance of the invisible God, He is identified with the Word become flesh.

And this is the culmination of the teaching of Jesus on this very point. In His farewell address, he said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me. If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also: from henceforth ye have known him, and have seen him." But Philip did not understand. He broke in with the request, "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." It was then that Jesus uttered the memorable word, "Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (14:6–9). The Father was in Jesus, and He in the Father; and to have seen Jesus, with a discerning eye, which could see Him as He was, was to have seen the Father.

II. *Salvation.*—But while John thus places the emphasis on the Divine side of Christ's mission, he does not overlook its

human side. The eternal Son came into the world to make known the Father's love in order that men, knowing Him as He is, might have eternal life. "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world should be saved through him" (3:16, 17).

1. In considering John's representation of the saving work of the Lord Jesus, the proper place to begin is with His life-giving energy. And here again we note a difference of view-point between John and Paul. Paul's soteriology begins with the atonement, with the righting of the legal relations between God and man. John allows that to fall into a secondary place, and puts the emphasis on the giving of eternal life. The difference grows out of the difference in their view of the effects of sin. In the case of Paul the aspect of sin, which occupies the field of vision, is its terrible guilt; John looks upon it from the standpoint of the story of the Fall, given in Genesis. He sees its terrible effects in the separation between God and man, which it introduced, and the consequent reign of death. While Paul, therefore, is concerned with the thought of the removal of man's guilt, John dwells on the manner in which Jesus, the incarnate Word, gave life to a dying world.

At the basis of John's thought lies the truth, to which he gives expression in the opening verses. "In him was life" (1:4). The thought finds expression in various forms. John points out how in this respect Jesus differs from all others. The Fourth Gospel represents God as the "living One," "the living Father"; but it also represents the Son as having life in himself. "For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son, also to have life in himself" (5:26). And because He has life in Himself, He quickeneth whom He will (5:21). Only those who receive a new and spiritual life from Him, only those who are born from above, can enter into the kingdom of heaven (3:3, 5). He is the bread of life, and only those who eat His flesh and drink His blood, that is, enter into

inner, vital and spiritual union with Him, have eternal life in themselves (6:51). He is the resurrection and the life, and only he who believes in Him will share in the blessedness of the resurrection at the last day (11:25, 26). He is the true vine; and to have the vitality of that true life, which is able to bring forth much fruit, one must abide in Him (15:5). And so it is throughout the entire representation of the Fourth Gospel. Jesus, the eternal Son, mediates the true life unto men; and His quickening energy lies at the basis of the entire work of salvation.

And in making this representation, John has evidently before his mind the thought of man's alienation from God. He views mankind as in a state, in which it has become separated from the only source and ground of life in God; and he dwells on the restoration of that relation by contemplating man as brought back into a new vital relation, so that the life-giving energy of the ever-living God may again flow over into Him. He uses different figures of speech to express his thought, now speaking of it as a new birth from above, now as a nourishment with bread from heaven, and again as a veritable resurrection from the dead. All are valid as modes of representing the fundamental idea; and none of them should give us any difficulty, if only we remember that they are figures of speech, expressing more or less completely the fundamental idea that man, who by sin became separated from God, must again become reunited to him in real vital union, so that the life of God may be effective in him.

2. When we come now to ask ourselves how this quickening energy of the eternal Son has become effective in mankind, we find ourselves confronted with the processes of salvation. And here we note first the relation of this process to the other, of which we have already spoken, the revelation of the Father. As we saw, Jesus defined His work as consisting primarily in making known the Father unto men. But in the same connection he also tells us what the effect of that revelation is. "And this is eternal life, that they should know thee, the only

true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ" (17:3).

By some this statement has been taken as a definition of eternal life. I think it is better to take it as expressing the condition, on which alone eternal life becomes possible for us. And this is the view of most of our expositors. Man in his alienation was not simply separated from God; he was lost in spiritual darkness, so that he could no longer find his way back to communion with the source of life. And not only was he lost; he was alienated and inwardly at enmity with God. He looked upon God as an angry deity, who could be approached only with blood and sacrifice. Before he could be induced to return, to lay aside his own enmity, he had to be put into the position, where he could see and know God as He is, a kind and loving Father, who is far more ready to forgive than we are to be forgiven. He had to learn that God is good, the perfection of goodness and love, the embodiment of all that is true and beautiful and good. And to gain that knowledge, he had to look upon the face of Jesus, and recognize in him all the excellencies, all the virtues, and all the graces of the eternal God himself. And just as soon as he has learned that, and in learning it has learned to bow before that supernal goodness, beauty and truth, he is in a state where he has eternal life; for that inward recognition is in fact such a bowing of the whole inner man before God, that in his inmost essence he has become one with God, and so become livingly reunited with Him.

3. But all this has not yet brought us to face the actual work which Christ did in thus enabling man to know the only true God, and in thus giving him the eternal life. How did Christ thus mediate between "the living Father" and dying men, that they have again become enabled to share in His glorious life?

The Fourth Gospel represents this work as accomplished through the life of the incarnate Son of God. "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us" (1:14). That is the be-

ginning of it all. In the person of Jesus our humanity was lifted up into union with the Divine. In his own person he first of all carried our humanity triumphantly over all the power of sin and temptation, through death and the resurrection, on to the right hand of God; and now, in His risen and exalted state, He helps us by His Spirit to follow in His steps, to live the same life, and finally to enter into the same glory at God's own right hand.

To understand the process by which all this was accomplished, we need to note first of all how Jesus Himself triumphed and became invested again with the glory which He had with the Father before the world was; for the whole objective work of salvation was in the first place concentrated in His own glorious person. When He became flesh, He entered into the condition and came under the limitations of our fallen human life; and before He could lift us out of our fallen state, He had to lift Himself out of it, and overcome the difficulties which lay in our pathway to the full enjoyment of eternal life.

There are two sides to this process, by which Jesus thus carried our fallen humanity out of its fallen state into the state of perfect glory at God's right hand. On the one hand was His life of perfect holiness, by which He realized in Himself the ideal of our human life, which through the Fall we had failed to realize; and on the other was that life of suffering and sorrow, by which He bore in His own person the fearful consequences of our guilt.

According to Jesus' own testimony, there was but one motive which actuated Him in all His work. That was to do the Father's will. "I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear I judge: and my judgment is righteous; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (5: 30), "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his word" (4: 34). And it was only after He had accomplished that will, so that He could say, I have accomplished "the work which thou hast given me to do," that He could

pray, "Glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (17: 5).

But the accomplishment of that will brought Him suffering and pain. It was the hatred and malice of the Jews that brought Him to His cross. But the Jews hated Him, because they were not of God, as He was, and because they did the will of their father, the devil. "Ye seek to kill me, because my word hath not free course in you. I speak the things which I have seen with my Father: and ye do the things which ye have heard from your father" (8: 37, 38). He endured the contradiction of sinners, because He was holy; but in enduring it He maintained his holiness, and thus became perfected in sufferings.

4. One point in the significance of His death is thus apparent. He died in order that He might bear witness unto the truth, and in order that through it He might Himself become perfected in holiness. His death became the means of His glorification. "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit" (12: 23, 24). "The hour" means the hour of his departure out of the world; it was the hour of his glorification; and his going out was the means of the glorification.

But his death has significance, not simply for himself, but for us as well. He laid down his life for the sheep. "I am the good shepherd; and I know mine own, and mine own know me, even as the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep" (10: 14, 15). "And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth" (17: 19). The word for sanctify (ἁγιάζω) means to consecrate as a sacrifice, and refers to his life of self-sacrifice, culminating in his death. That self-sacrifice was made in our behalf (ὑπέρ); and so his death is conceived of as in our interest.

Did His death also have meaning for God? The question

is often answered in the negative. One of the objections, made against the Pauline doctrine of the atonement, is that it presents the death of Christ as a propitiation. God, it is contended, has always loved mankind, and has needed no propitation in order to the forgiveness of sin. Reconciliation is conceived as being a one-sided affair—a reconciliation of man to God. The passage in Rom. 5: 10, 11, which most commentators take as teaching the reconciliation of God to man, rather than of man to God, has either been explained away, or else its force has been denied. And the statement has been confidently made that the idea of satisfaction or propitiation can not be found in John, the Apostle of love. And yet it is a singular fact that the word "propitiation" (ἱλασμός) occurs in John more frequently than in all the other New Testament writers combined. "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world" (I, 2: 2). "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins" (I. 4: 10). It is true, the word occurs only twice; but it is found nowhere else, except in Paul's great statement on the objective work of redemption in the death of Jesus (Rom. 3: 25). What does it signify?

ἱλασμός is derived from ἱλάσκεσθαι, and its exact meaning can be determined only from the use of the word from which it is derived. Now ἱλάσκεσθαι means to appease, to soothe, to render propitious. In Homer and in Classic Greek generally, it is used of the gods, and means to render the gods favorable by sacrifices and offerings. The name of the god, who is rendered propitious, is found in the accusative case, the object of the verb. The idea expressed is that the god is unfavorable, an angry deity, who must be made favorable by gifts and sacrifices. It has been contended, and justly, that this idea is foreign to the Scriptures; and the contention has been supported by an appeal to the difference of usage in both LXX and the NT. Here the verb is never used with the name of the

Deity in the accusative. Westcott, in an elaborate note in his commentary on the First Epistle of John (pp. 85–87), has shown that the verb is found with the dative of the person, the accusative of the sin, the dative of the sin, and absolutely; in composition with ἐκ, it has after it the accusative of the object cleansed, and especially of the sin which is covered. It is also found with περί and the Genitive of the sin or of the person sinning; also with ὑπέρ and ἀπό in the passive. At the close of the note he remarks, "These constructions stand in remarkable contrast with the Classical and Helenistic usage in which the accusative of the person propitiated is the normal construction from Homer downwards; a usage which prevails in the patristic writers. They show that the Scriptural conception of ἱλάσκεσθαι is not that of appeasing one who is angry, with a personal feeling, against the offender; but of altering the character of that which from without occasions a necessary alienation, and interposes an inevitable obstacle to fellowship."

We should, I think, thoroughly recognize that the Scriptural conception is not that of an offended deity, who must be appeased by sacrifices and offerings. God is love, as St. John so forcibly expresses it. Love is of the very essence of his being. He is "the Father," who is always willing and ready to forgive. And yet John nowhere represents God as indifferent to sin, or as unaffected by it. He speaks of the wrath of God as abiding upon the unbelieving (3: 36); and the implication, at least, is that men are delivered from wrath by believing on the Son. God does not, and can not, treat sin as if it were not sin; and he cannot welcome the sinner so long as he continues impenitent. There is that in his character, in the very nature of his righteous love, which must be satisfied, before the sinner can be welcomed back into communion and fellowship. And when Jesus Christ is spoken of as "the propitiation for our sins," the thought is that there was that in His self-sacrifice which enabled God again to receive man into fellowship with Himself.

Just what that was is a task for dogmatic theology to deter-

mine. The Biblical writers do not enter into any discussion of it. What they are concerned with is the fact; and that is clearly presented. The philosophical explanation of the fact Biblical theology may well leave to those to whom it belongs.

III. *Judgment.*—Salvation is the positive aspect of the work of Christ, considered in its relation to mankind. It is the work which expresses the positive purpose of His coming into the world; and it is the result which follows from His work for all who receive Him with an obedient faith. But all men do not so receive Him. For all such the work of Christ has a totally different result. For them it means judgment and condemnation. This aspect of His work is likewise presented in the Fourth Gospel.

1. Here we again note a contrast, this time with the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. In the Synoptics Jesus is also represented as Judge (Mt. 25: 31–46); but the judgment is everywhere connected with the future. It belongs to eschatology. In the Fourth Gospel, while references to a future judgment are not wanting, the primary reference is to the present. "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (12:31). "He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my sayings, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day" (12: 48). "He that believeth on him is not judged; he that believeth not hath been judged already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God" (3: 18).

It is well to note that the contrast denotes a difference in view-point merely; it does not amount to a contradiction. The Fourth Gospel approaches the subject from the standpoint of the process through which the judgment is executed; the Synoptics look at it from the standpoint of the accomplished fact. By their attitude, which men take with reference to the Son, they are deciding their eternal destiny now. The last day will simply reveal the separation which has already been affected inwardly in men's lives here.

And there is another contrast, which needs to be noted, within the Gospel itself. At one place Jesus is represented as saying, "I came not to judge the world, but to save the world" (12:47). At another place He is made to say, "For judgment came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind" (9:39).

It is an apparent contradiction, which yet is easily reconciled. The purpose of Christ's coming into the world was, not condemnation, but salvation; but, inasmuch as men are free beings even in the processes of salvation, the question as to whether that purpose shall be realized in them depends on their own choice. Men may reject the Son; and one of the aims of the Fourth Gospel is to set forth the terrible fact that many have in fact done so. For them the work of Christ must result, in fact has already resulted, in the opposite. Instead of being saved, they are condemned. Believers, in the very act of believing, escape from judgment; unbelievers, by the very fact of their rejection of the proffered salvation, place themselves under condemnation.

2. The dramatic, apocalyptic representations of the judgment, which are found in the Synoptics, are wanting in the Fourth Gospel. Instead we have a statement of the inner processes, by which the judgment is accomplished. Two of these representations are given.

(1) Christ's word is represented as the agent or power by which the judgment is executed. The word of Christ is that which judges those who reject him. "He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my savings, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day" (12:48). The meaning is not far to seek. As the statement is in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "The word of God is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. 4:12). His word is in accordance with truth; and all that is needed is that men should be confronted by it. Their

attitude with reference to the truth, when openly presented as it is in his words, reveals their character, and thus determines their destiny.

(2) In the fifth chapter, in which Jesus is represented as setting forth his claims to Divinity as nowhere else, the statements occur; "For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgment unto the Son. . . . And he gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man" (5:22, 27). In the Greek, "Son of man" is without the article—"because he is a son of man" is the rendering in the margin of the R. V. The Standard puts the latter into the text, and writes son without the capital.

How does he execute judgment? It is not the primary function of his office, as we have already seen. His direct conscious effort is given to bringing men to a knowledge of God, to saveing the world. But, as we have also noted, the accomplishment of that work depends on man's free acceptance of Jesus, as the Son of God. All who reject Him place themselves under condemnation, because they thereby reject God Himself. As Son of man, Jesus realized the true ideal of manhood, and thus in His own person and life placed before men what they ought to be. When they refuse to conform their lives to that model, they condemn themselves as falling short of what they ought to be.

The two methods of executing judgment thus in the end amount to the same thing. The words of Jesus judge men, because they are truth; and when men are unwilling to submit to the truth, they condemn themselves. So Jesus is the truth. His own life has become the true standard of human life. The ideal of what we ought to be is no longer an abstraction; it has become a concrete reality in Him; and where men refuse to conform their lives to it, by inwardly submitting to His authority, they judge themselves. In both cases the processes of the judgment are automatic.

LANCASTER, PA.

IV.

THE TASK OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.[1]

J. FRANK BUCHER.

Before we can understand the work which must be done by Christianity in China, it is necessary that we study the social, moral and religious life of her people. In that way only can the question be answered as to whether or not Christianity has any place in China, whether or not its teachings are an improvement on the existing body of thot, its life superior to the life of her millions of people. Lookt at from the standpoint of the best interests of the Middle Kingdom, is there any work for Christianity in China or is the Christian Missionary propaganda merely a meddlesome interference with a people self-sufficient unto themselvs? Recent events have shown that the Chinese are anxious to adopt western systems of lerning, of economics, of finance, of law and even, in part, of government; but as a people they do not want the Christian religion. Therefore the only way in which the introduction of Christianity can be justified is by its need. And the only way in which we can ascertain whether or not Christianity is needed in China is by a study of her existing religious system.

China is commonly said to have three religions, Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism.[2] These three religions however, as found in China, have one common basis and may in a sense be considerd as one. This common basis is universalism or worship of the universe.

[1] Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University. Simplified spelling.

[2] The outline of the above sketch of the religious system in China is given from memory of the lectures on the "Religion of China" delivered in November, 1910, at Columbia University, by Professor J. J. M. DeGroot, of the University of Leiden.

Universalism is a pantheistic dualism. The dual forces are the Yang and the Yin. To the yang belong all such forces as heven, light. male, odd numbers, the shen or good spirits, and, to sum up, all the strong forces of the universe. To the yin belong earth, darkness, female, even numbers, the gwei or specters, and, in short, all the weak forces of the universe. In the equilibrium of these forces lies the harmony of the universe. Man's dual nature is in harmony with this universalistic dual nature, and hence in order that men may be happy and prosperous and attain perfection of character, it is necessary that the equilibrium of these forces be maintaind. Thus in the Djung Yung or Doctrine of the Mean, I, 5, are found these words, "Let the state of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail thruout heven and earth, and all things will be nourisht and flourish."[3] Thus any dislocation of the Dao or universe is sure to bring calamity and the importance of maintaining it in its state of equilibrium cannot be exaggerated.

Since universalism is a pantheism, the universe itself is God. This is shown in the words of the Doctrine of the Mean, XIX, 6, "By the ceremonies of the sacrifice to heven and earth, they servd God. . . ." This being the case, there can be no spiritual power higher than the universe itself to regulate it. Therefore this regulation must come entirely from man who is himself a part of the universe. In the classical religion of China this duty is delegated to the Emperor, the Son of Heven, who by the proper ceremonies of sacrifice and worship propitiates the powers of the universe. Thus in the Li Gi or Record of Rites, I, II, III, "The Son of Heven sacrifices to heven and earth, to the four quarters, to the hills and rivers, and offers the five sacrifices of the house,—all in the course of the year." And in the Shu Ging or Book of History, II, I, III, 6, "Thereafter he (Shun) sacrificed purely to the six honord ones, sacrificed especially, but with ordinary forms, to

[3] All quotations are taken from Dr. Legge's translations of the Chinese classics.

God; offerd their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the hosts of spirits." In addition to this, imperial calendrical rescripts and almanacs are issued. Regularly appointed officials study the universe for dislocations of the Dao such as eclipses and extraordinary phenomena. And it is the duty of all officials to report at once any deviations from nature such as freak births, landslides, and in fact, anything that seems out of harmony with the natural order. All this is necessary that the proper precautions may be taken and the proper sacrifices made to ward off the impending calamities.

Out of man's efforts to live in harmony with the universe has grown the science of feng-shui (wind-water). In certain localities of the air and earth, the yang forces are thot to predominate, while in the remaining localities the yin forces are in control. These localities are found in connection with certain currents of wind and water, hence the name feng-shui. Needless to say, all men wish to dwell during life under the beneficent influence of the yang forces and wish their graves under the same influence after deth. Every city must have its feng-shui to emanate good fortune and blessedness to the community. If this cannot be found in some peculiarly shapt hill or spot in the city, then a pagoda is bilt on some especially well-situated spot. Every country home or village must be bilt where the feng-shui is good. Every grave must be similarly located. To locate these good spots, a regular profession of feng-shui doctors has sprung up. In their attempts to find such suitable spots families have been financially ruind by the extortions of these men.

Another science which has grown out of universalism is that of divination. In this science the eight diagrams made up of straight lines are used. Part of the lines are whole, giving an odd or strong number of the yang principle, and part of them are broken into two parts, giving an even or weak number of the yin principle. By manipulation of these eight combinations, future events are foretold, lucky days discoverd, and horoscopes cast. The whole Book of Changes, I-Ging, is given

up to an explanation of these diagrams. The science has always been highly prizd by the Chinese and is traced back to ancient times. Thus in the Li Gi or Book of Rites, I, I, V, 6, "Divination by the shell is cald pu; by the stalks, shuh. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings." A man, however, can only attain the ability of divination by study of the classics, especially the I-ging, and by the attainment of true character. Especially is perfect sincerity to be desird. Thus in the Doctrine of the Mean, XXIV, "It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and effect the movements of the four lims. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possest of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit." Thus the science of divination is plact on a very high plane. Today the whole country swarms with diviners and fortune-tellers in general.

The very center and hart of the universalistic religion is filial piety. The classical books lay the greatest stress upon it. Thus in the Lwen Yu or Confucian Analects, I, II, 2, "Filial piety and fraternal submission:—are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" And in Mencius, VI, I, XIX, 2, "Everything is a servis, but the servis of parents is the root of all others." While the parents are living, filial piety demands that the son be obedient, that he must carry out their wishes, shield them from disgrace, and support them in ease and comfort. When ded, they must be buried according to the rules of propriety and sacrificed to according to the same. Analects, II, V, "Mang E askt what filial piety was. The master said, 'It is not being disobedient.' Fan Ch'e said, 'What did you

mean?' The master replied, 'That parents, when alive, should be servd according to propriety; that, when ded, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety.'" And in Mencius, III, I, II, 2, "The mourning rites for parents are what men feel constraind to do their utmost in. The philosopher Tsang said 'When parents are alive, they should be servd according to (the rules of) propriety; when ded they should be buried, and they should be sacrificed to according to the same:—this may be cald filial piety.'"

The Hsiao Ging or Book of Filial Piety, is devoted entirely to a discussion of this the most prominent element in the universalistic religion. In chapter 10, the laws of filial piety and their requirements are sumd up as follows: "The servis which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give the utmost plesure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (ded), he exhibits every demonstration of grief, in sacrificing to them he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounct) able to serve his parents. He who thus serves his parents in a high situation will be free from pride; in a low situation will be free from insubordination; and among his equals will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation, pride leads to ruin; in a low situation, insubordination leads to punishment; among equals, quarrelsomeness leads to wielding of weapons. If these three things be not put away, tho a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial." And in chapter 18 of the same work the commanding position of the practis of filial piety in the Chinese religion is well brot out. "The servis of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow for them when ded; these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living man."

In serving his parents, a man must allow nothing to come between himself and them, neither the pursuit of happiness,

nor of riches, nor the living of an evil life, nor the love of wife and children. This is well brot out in Mencius, IV, II, XXX, 2, "Mencius replied, 'There are five things which in the common parlance of the age are said to be unfilial. The first is laziness in the use of one's four lims, so as not to attend to the maintenance of his parents. The second is gambling and chess-playing, and being fond of spirits, so as not to attend to the maintenance of one's parents. The third is being fond of goods and money, and being selfishly attacht to one's wife and children, so as not to attend to the maintenance of one's parents. The fourth is following the desire of one's ears and eyes, so as to bring parents to disgrace. The fifth is being fond of bravery, fighting, and quarreling, so as to endanger his parents."

The demands of filial piety do not seem so difficult providing that the parents themselvs are of high character and by this very fact command respect. But what shall be done if either one of the parents lives an evil life? In this case it is the first duty of the son to conceal the faults of the erring one. He may remonstrate with them, but very gently, lest he bring about a rupture in their mutual relationship. He must bear all ill-treatment without complaint and with fortitude. Confucius brings this out clearly in the Analects, IV, XVIII, "The master said, 'In serving his parents a son may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow his advice, he shows an increast degree of reverence, but does not abandon his purpose; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur.'" Mencius gives an illustration of the duty of a son to an erring father. He was accusd of having as a frend Chang-tze, an unfilial son. Chang-tze's father had done wrong and the former remonstrated with him. The father became angry and broke off all relations with his son. Chang-tze at once sent away his own wife and son because he thot that if he accepted their ministrations while at variance with his father he would be breaking the laws of filial piety. This Mencius gives as a proof of Chang-tze's high character. Mencius, IV, II, XXX, 5, "Did not Chang-

tze wish to have all that belongs to the relationship of man and wife, child and mother? But because he had offended his father and was not permitted to approach him, he sent away his wife and drove forth his son, and would not for all (the rest of) his life receive any cherishing attentions from them. He settled it in his own mind that if he did not act in this way, his would be the greatest of crimes. Such and nothing more is the case of Chang-tze."

Shun, one of the three sage Emperors of China, is continually held up as a model of filial piety. His parents were evil-minded and constantly abused their pious and righteous son. Shun bore their abuse without a murmur and by his matchless exhibition of filial piety finally reformd them. When the Emperor Yao wisht an efficient colleague, Shun, who had become famous because of his filial piety, was recommended to him and in time occupied the throne of the empire. The classics contain many references to him, especially the Book of History and Mencius. Confucius' estimate of Shun is recorded in the Doctrine of the Mean, XXII, 1 and 2,—

"The master said, 'How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the imperial throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offerd his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preservd the sacrifices to himself.

"'Therefore having such great virtue, it could not be but that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life.'"

It can be seen from the second half of the above quotation that filial piety is not without its rewards. While not all men receive the empire as did Shun, yet to all men of true filial piety will come great blessings, especially riches and long life. In the Shi Ging or Book of Poetry, we have a description of the sacrifice of fruit spirits, and a red bull to the ancestors. This is followd (II, VI, VI, 6) by

"Then we present, then we offer;
All around the fragrance is diffused.

Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial servis;
Grandly come our ancestors.
They will reward their descendants with great blessings,
Long life, years without end.''

But the inevitable fact remaind that not all men were thus rewarded for their lives of filial piety. So it is declard that if the man himself does not receive this reward, at some future date his descendants will. In this way the element of reward enters very largely into the practis of filial piety.

The teachings of the universalistic religion in regard to life after deth are not at all clear. At deth the dual soul of man returns to the principles from which it comes, that is, the shen or spirit returns to the yang principle, and the gwei or specter returns to the yin principle, or to the earth. But just what the state of these two souls is after deth is not clear. Either Confucius could form no conception or had receivd nothing from the past, for he gives very little teaching on the subject. In fact we are told that he avoided the subject. In the Analects, VII, XX, is found, "The subjects on which the master did not talk were:—prodigious things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings." On several occasions, however, he was askt direct questions on the subject. Thus in the Analects, XI, XI, "Ke-loo askt about serving the spirits (of the ded). The Master said, 'While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve spirits?' Ke-loo added, 'I venture to ask about deth.' He was answered, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about deth?' " It is quite evident that Confucius did not consider the subject a profitable one. Thus in the Analects, VI, XX, "Fan ch'e askt what constituted wisdom. The master said, 'To give one's self ernestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be cald wisdom.'" However an insight is obtaind into the thots of the sage in the Doctrine of the Mean, XVI. "The master said, 'How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them. We look for them but we do not see them; we listen to, but do not

hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the empire to fast and purify themselvs and array themselvs in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heds and on the right and left (of their worshippers).'" Another hint of the belief of the ancients is found in the Book of Poetry, III, III, II,—

> "Say not, 'No one can see me here;
> The place is secret.' Be in fear.
> The spirits come, but when and where
> No one beforehand can declare.
> The more we should not spirits slight,
> But ever feel as in their sight."

Altho the teachings of the classics are not very clear as regards life after deth, from other sources we get a view of the future state somewhat resembling the teachings of the Greek and Latin Classics in regard to hades. The future life is very dim and shadowy. In general it much resembles the life on earth in that the requisites for happiness here are also necessary in the future world. Thus the pious son provides his deceased father with a dwelling, money, clothes, food, sedan-chair, chair-carriers and other servants, and all other things thot necessary for happiness during life. The food is provided at the proper sacrifices, the other things are provided by burning paper models of them. If a son is faithful in performing the requirements of filial piety, he will receive great blessings from the deceased ancestor. Here, however, Buddhism has added a new element, adopted by Daoism, of a judgment after deth and severe punishments in purgatory for those falling short of the requird standard. It is therefore necessary to pay the priests to release the lovd one from purgatory by prayers and magical formulas.

As stated above, the gwei or yin element of the soul returns to the earth. It is believd to live in the grave. It is therefore necessary to provide splendid coffins and graves for the deceased ancestors. Offerings must be made at the grave and

honors paid, lest the gwei become angry and bring evil fortune upon the descendants. The gwei or specters of unburied bodies, having no home, wander around the land seeking a home and doing much evil. Great precautions are taken by the people against these specters.

It becomes apparent that between caring for the happiness of the shen or spirit and providing it with all the needs of the future spirit world, and caring for the happiness of the gwei and providing it with a suitable earthly home, the filial son must be under considerable expense. That Confucius saw this fact and yet at the same time well knew the people whom he was teaching is shown by his saying recorded in the Gia Yu or Book of Family Sayings, II, I, "Tsze-kung askt Confucius whether the ded had knowledge or not of the servises rendered them. The master replied, 'If I were to say that the ded have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would injure their substance in paying the last offises to the departed; and if I were to say that the ded have not such knowledge, I am afraid that unfilial sons would leave their parents unburied. You need not wish to lern whether the ded have such knowledge or not. There is no present urgency about the point. Hereafter you will know it for yourselvs.'" However in spite of these words of "the master" many Chinese families have been and are kept impoverisht by the requirements of filial piety.

The gods in the universalistic religion are the phenomena of nature, heven, earth, sun, moon, hills, rivers, etc., and the spirits of the ded. The worship of these gods is strictly limited to the proper authorities. For instance only the Emperor can sacrifice to heven and earth, and only princes and officials of certain rank to the different hills and streams. The hed of a family sacrifices to its ancestors. The son sacrifices to his parents. Thus the state has left little room for worship on the part of the great mass of the common people. To answer the needs of their religious nature, a great number of gods has been formd by deifying certain prominent heroes of ancient times.

Thus the gods of war are deifications of famous generals; of medicine of famous physicians; and so on. Every locality, family, and trade may have its separate deity. To these have been added the Buddhist pantheon. So that today China is just about as badly overridden with gods as it is with gweis.

It is a common saying in Christian circles that salvation is character. In other words, salvation is the attainment of character like unto the character of Jesus Christ, the Lord and Savior. Therefore Christianity claims the right to be judgd by its highest product, the life and teachings of Jesus. That being the case, it is only fair to judge the universalistic religion of China by the character and teachings of the greatest men it has produced. As Confucius is universally given the preeminent position, and as the Confucian Classics are the bibles of universalism, a study of the man of character as drawn by Confucius and his disciples is necessary that we may understand just what are the exact ethical demands of universalism.

According to the teachings of the classics there are five duties which hold universally among men. These are stated in the Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 8, "The duties of universal obligation are five, and the virtues wherewith they are practist are three. The duties are those between soveren and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of frends. These five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, mangnanimity and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practis is singleness." This singleness is described by Dr. Legge, in the notes to his translation, as singleness of soul in the apprehension and practis of the mean.

It is therefore quite clear that the man of character—superior man—must walk according to the harmony of the universe. Thus in the Doctrine of the Mean, II, 1, "Chungne said, 'The superior man embodies the course of the mean; the mean man acts contrary to it.'" And in the same classic, I, 4 and 5, "While there are no stirrings of plesure, anger, sorrow, or joy,

the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium. When these feelings have been stird and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be cald the state of harmony. This equilibrium is the great root from which grows all human actings in the world, and this harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail thruout heven and earth, and all things will be nourisht and flourish."

Men must neither go beyond or come short of the requirements of the mean. Confucius brings this out in the Analects, XI, XV, "Tsze-kung askt which of the two, Sze or Shang was the superior. The master said, 'Sze goes beyond the due mean, and Shang does not come up to it.' 'Then,' said Tsze-kung, 'the superiority is with Sze, I suppose.' The master said, 'To go beyond is as wrong as to fall short.'" And in the Doctrine of the Mean, X, 5, Confucius says, "Therefore, the superior man cultivates a frendly harmony without being weak,—How firm is he in his forcefulness! He stands erect in the middle without inclining to either side,—How firm is he in his forcefulness! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement,—How firm is he in his forcefulness! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to deth without changing; How firm is he in his forcefulness!" Thus it is by being in harmony with the universe and walking the path of the mean that true character is attaind.

This brings out at once the force of Confucius' statement that knowledge is one of the virtues universally binding. How can a man follow the true mean if he does not know what the true mean is? And the only way to acquire that knowledge is by ernest study of the lives and teachings of the sages of antiquity. By a careful study of these grand figures of the past a man may lern the way in which they walkt and turn his footsteps after them. They ernestly followd the path of the

mean and men can do no better than to follow their example. It is thus quite easy to see the logic of the Chinese system which for centuries held as the one and only requirement for entrance into official life a knowledge of the classical literature. For if it be true that in the classics is found the knowledge of the mean, the way of harmony of the universe, of heven and earth, of the empire, the state, the family, and the individual; then in what other way can a man gain the true theory of government than by a study of these classics? Therefore for centuries the officials of China have been recruited from the literary classes. And as it is the duty of every man to serve the empire by entering official life, the literati of China have a double reason for acquiring lerning and thus a true knowledge of the universe; first that they may attain perfect character, and, second, that they may, by means of this perfect character, properly serve the empire.

The man of character must be righteous. Analects, IV, XVI, "The master said, 'The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness.'" His thots must be pure. Analects, II, II, "The master said, 'In the book of poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embract in that one sentence,—'Have no depravd thots.'" (See Shi Ging, IV, II, I, 4) If he has faults he must give them up. Analects, XV, XXIX, "The master said, 'To have faults and not to reform them, this, indeed, should be pronounct having faults.'" He always acts according to true virtue. Analects, IV, V, "The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger he cleaves to it." Thus even his love of valor is temperd by righteousness, that is, he is valorous only when his cause is righteous. Analects, XVII, XXIII, "Tsze-loo said, 'Does the superior man esteem valor?' The master said, 'The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a superior situation, having valor without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people, having valor without righteousness,

will commit robbery.'" But when the cause of the man of character is righteous, he upholds it against all odds. Mencius, II, I, II, 7, "If on self-examination, I find that I am not righteous, shall I not be afraid of (a common man in his) loose garments of hair-cloth; if on self-examination I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands."

This righteousness of man is completed by certain other virtues. Analects, XV, XVII, "The master said, 'The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man.'"

Righteousness must therefore be performd in accordance with the rules of propriety. The classics lay great stress on these rules. A number of works treet on this subject, of which, perhaps, the most important is the one numberd among the nine classics, the Li Gi or Record of Rites. In this volume most complete rules are given to govern the actions of the truly righteous on all occasions, in all social and religious ceremonies and rites, and in fact, in practically every act in a man's life. The observance of these rules is necessary to the establishment of true character. The words of Confucius to his son bring this out clearly. Analects, XVI, XII, 3, "If you have not lernd the rules of propriety, it is impossible for the character to be establisht." On another occasion he states the same fact. Analects, XX, III, 2, "Without an acquaintance with the rules of propriety, it is impossible for the character to be establisht." For a man to sacrifice to his ancestors, to bury his ded, to hold offis, to pay visits, to receive calls, or to carry out any of the duties of life, without observing the rules of propriety would be unrighteousness. However the ideal of propriety is that it should be an outgrowth of the feelings and life of the man of character. It must not be merely assumd for the occasion. This is the argument of Mencius in VII, II, XXXIII, 2, "When all the movements of the countenance

and every turn (of the body) are exactly according to propriety, that shows the greatest degree of complete virtue." Confucius was noted for his love of ceremony and politeness, being careful, even when seriously ill, to observe every requirement of the rules of propriety.

Righteousness must be brot forth with humility. Great stress is laid on this fact. This is seen in the words of Confucius as recorded in the Analects, I, I, 3, "Is he not a man of complete virtue who feels no discomposure tho men take no note of him?" And again in the same classic, XV, XVII, "The master said, 'The superior man is distrest by his want of ability. He is not distrest by men's not knowing him.'" The rules of propriety are workt out with the idea that men should be humble. It is to be feard, however, that in the majority of cases the humility is assumd, for there is no prouder people on the face of the earth than the Chinese, especially the literary and official classes.

Righteousness is completed with sincerity. Certainly no greater stress can be laid on truthfulness than is laid in the Chinese classics. It is one of the four things which are given special mention among the teachings of Confucius. Analects, VII, XXIV, "There were four things which the master taught, —letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness." The attainment of sincerity is necessary to man. Doctrine of the Mean, XXV, "Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself." And in the Analects, II, XXII, "The master said, 'I do not know how a man without truthfulness is to get along. How can a large carriage be made to go without a cross-bar to yoke the oxen to, or a small carriage without the arrangement for yoking the horses?" Sincerity is necessary to man in order that he may be in harmony with the universe or Dao. Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 18, "Sincerity is the way of heven, the attainment of sincerity the way of man. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thot;—he is the sage who

naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good and firmly holds fast to it." And in the same classic, XXII, "It is only he that is possest of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the nature of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of heven and earth, he may with heven and earth form a ternion." And in XXVI, 5, "So large and substantial the individual possest of it is the co-equal of earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of heven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite." This makes clear why it is, as stated above, that the man possest of sincerity can foretell future events.

However the teachings of Confucius in regard to truthfulness and sincerity do not always harmonize. For instance, when these virtues are found not to be in harmony with the other requirements of the universalistic religion, truthfulness always yields. The classic instance of filial piety clashing with truth is found in the Analects, XIII, XVIII, "The Duke of She informd Confucius, saying, 'Among us there are those who may be styld upright in their conduct. If their father has stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact.'

"Confucius said, 'Among us in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

The same thing is true when truthfulness clashes with humility. Mang Che-fan, an officer of Loo, distinguisht himself at the time his army sufferd a severe defeat by remaining in the rear to cover the retreat. Confucius' comments on the humility of the brave officer are found in the Analects, VI,

XIII, "The master said, 'Mang Che-fan does not boast of his merit. Being in the rear on an occasion of flight, when they were about to enter the gate, he whipt up his horse saying, 'It is not that I dare to be last. My horses would not advance.'" In his own daily life Confucius did not hesitate to send a false message as can be seen in the Analects, XVII, XX, "Jo Pei wisht to see Confucius, but Confucius declind, on the ground of being sick, to see him. When the bearer of this message went out the door, he took his harpsichord and sang to it, in order that Pei might hear him." And the historical works of Confucius are a stumbling block to his admirers among foren scholars in China because of their distortion of fact, and many of them have, for this reason, tried to prove that he never wrote the historical works ascribd to him. It is quite evident that Confucius and his school have no conception of the high ideal of truth taught and exemplified by Jesus. The modern Chinese are utterly unable to understand the principle of the truth for its own sake and at any cost. To the frends of China it is apparent that nothing is more greatly needed in China today than a living conception of the meaning of truth.

There is reason to think that the classics are somewhat deficient in their teachings of love. It is said in the Analects, I, VI, "The master said 'A youth . . . should overflow in love to all, . . .'" And in the Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 5 "Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives." The idea of love comes out in the Confucian statement of the golden rule. Analects, XV, XXIII, "Tsze-kung askt, saying, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practis for all one's life?' The master said, 'Is not reciprocity such a rule? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others." This statement is made, somewhat varied and always in the negativ, in several other places in the classics, Analects, V, XI, and Doctrine of the Mean, XIII, 3, and is enlarged in the Da Hsioh, or Great Lerning, X, 2. It is evident however that

Confucius did not understand the true requirements of love. Lao Dzi in the Dao Deh Ging, had taught that kindness should be returnd for injury. When this teaching was announct to Confucius he rejected it, the conversation being recorded in the Analects, XIV, XXXVI.

"Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompenst with kindness?' "The master said, 'With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justis, and recompense kindness with kindness.'"

Contemporary with Mencius livd a philosopher namd Mih Tieh, who taught that men should love each other equally. Mencius most strenuously combated this theory on the ground that it leaves no room for the peculiar affection due to a father. Mencius, III, II, IX, 9, "Mih's principle is to love all equally; which leaves no place for the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither ruler or father is to be in the state of a beast." Mih's defense of his doctrine was very weak and it is quite evident that even he did not understand the true meaning of love. The Confucian school entirely overthrew the school of Mih and no trace of it remains. The Chinese have no such conception of love as that given in the life and teachings of Jesus, and such a practical commentary of love as that given by Paul in I Cor:13 is difficult for them to understand.

From the description of the religion of China given above, it follows that the man of character must practis that root of all benevolent actions, filial piety. The statement has been made that the Chinese people practis their filial love after the recipients are ded, and there may be some truth in this. And yet there are many instances of true filial piety, and practically everybody practises it in a mesure. Parents are supported by their children in large numbers. In fact it is a serious cause of educational and economical backwardness. The son must leave school before his education is finisht that he may take some lucrativ position and support his parents. Too many men who ought to be producers of welth are para-

sites living on the welth produced by the son. While, as it is stated above, families frequently impoverish themselves in their efforts to meet the requirements that filial piety makes in caring for their deceased ancestors.

The question naturally arises, where does man get the power to acquire and assimilate all these virtues, such as knowledge, righteousness, propriety, truth, humility, and filial piety. The soul of man is in harmony with the soul of the universe, hence the nature of man is likewise in harmony with the nature of the universe and is therefore good. The classics are quite emphatic in teaching that the nature of man is good. Especially in the teachings of Mencius do we find this doctrine brot to its highest perfection. He compares the goodness of man's nature to water which always flows down hill. Mencius, VI, I, II, 2, "The (tendency of) man's nature to goodness is like the (tendency of) water to flow downwards. There is none but has (this tendency to) goodness, (just as) water flows downward. Now by striking water and causing it to leap upward, you may make it go over your forehed; and by damming it and leading it, you may cause it to go up hill; but are (such movements according to) the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. In the case of man's being made to do what is not good, his nature is delt with in this way." He also compares it to barley. Mencius, VI, I, VII, 2, "There now is barley.—Let the seed be sown and coverd up; the ground being the same, and the time of sowing also the same; it grows luxuriantly, and when the full time has come it is all found to be ripe. Altho there may be inequalities (of produce), that is owing to (the difference of) the soil as rich or poor, to the (unequal) nourishment afforded by rain and dew, and to the different ways in which man has performd his business." In other words, put a man in the proper environment and his life will be good. Confucius is quite positiv in his statement that men have within themselvs the strength to acquire character. Analects, IV, VI, 2, "Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the

case in which his strength would be insufficient." And in Mencius, VII, II, XXXI, "Mencius said, 'All men have some things which they cannot bear (to see):—extend that feeling to what they can bear and the result would be benevolence. All men have some things which they will not do:—extend that feeling to the things which they will do, and righteousness will be the result." Dr. Legge comments on these words of Mencius as follows,—"A man has only to give development to the principles of good which are natural to him and show themselvs in some things, to be entirely good and correct."

But here is the great mass of common people, by nature good, and yet lacking that knowledge of the classics that is necessary to follow the path of the mean. What provision is made for them? God has given them rulers to guide them in the way. Thus in the Book of History, IV, III, 2, "The great God has conferd (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which will show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the soveren." And in the same classic, IV, II, II, 2, "Heven gives birth to the people with such desires, that without a ruler, they must fall into all disorders; and heven again gives birth to the man of intelligence whose business it is to regulate them." Not by laws but by his example is the soveren to lead his people. Analects, II, III.

The master said, "If the people are led by laws and uniformity is sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment but have no sense of shame.

"If they are led by virtue and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame and moreover will become good."

And the words of Confucius in the Analects, XIII, IV, 3, "If a superior man (ruler) loves propriety, the people will not dare not to be reverent. If he love righteousness, the people will not dare not to submit (to his example). If he love good faith, the people will not dare not to be sincere. Now when these

things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs."

And in Mencius, IV, II, V, "Mencius said, 'If the ruler be benevolent, all will be benevolent; if the ruler be righteous, all will be righteous." The ruler therefore must exercise the greatest care in setting this example to the people. This is well brot out in the Great Lerning, IV, 4, "Yaou and Shun led on the empire with benevolence and the people followd them. Kee and Chow led on the empire with violence and the people followd them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practises which they lovd, and so the people did not follow them (the orders). On this account the ruler must be possest of good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them." In addition to the rulers, the scholars who know the way must instruct others. Mencius shows this in his words recorded in V, I, VII, 5, "Heven's plan in the production of this people is this,—that they who are first informd, should instruct those who are later in being informd; and those who first apprehend (principles), should instruct those who are slower to do so." And Confucius in the Analects, XIV, XLV, "Tsze-loo askt what constituted the superior man. The master said, 'The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness.' 'And is that all?' said Tsze-loo. 'He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others' was the reply. 'And is this all?' again askt Tsze-loo. The master said, 'He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people. He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people:—even Yaou and Shun were still solicitous about this.'"

This system breaks down under the fact that the ruling, official, and literary classes have not been able to supply the example of perfect virtue. The classical books abound with records of the failure of the rulers to be true to their charge.

One of many passages is found in the Book of Poetry, II, V, I, 1,

> "The angry terrors of compassionate heven
> Extend thru this lower world;
> (The king's) counsels and plans are crooked and bad;—
> When will he stop (in his course)?
> Counsels which are good he will not follow,
> And those which are not good he employs.
> When I look at his counsels and plans
> I am greatly paind."

The suffering and sorrow and despair which follow as a result of evil rule and the consequent dislocation of the Dao or universe, is pitifully set forth in another ode of the same classic, II, IV, X,

> "Great and wide heven,
> How is it that you have contracted your kindness,
> Sending down deth and famine,
> Destroying all thru the kingdom?
> Compassionate heven, arrayd in terrors,
> How is it that you exercise no forethot, no care?
> Let alone the criminals:—
> They have sufferd for their offenses;
> But those who have no crime
> Are indiscriminately involvd in ruin."

As for the present, it is said that among the official classes in China, graft and extortion have become fine arts, and the misrule and consequent suffering is great, while the literary group has the reputation of being the most immoral of all the classes in the Middle Kingdom. "Can the blind guide the blind? shall they not both fall into a pit?"

In the scheme of the universalistic religion, woman has very little place. As female she belongs to the yin or inferior principle. She finds place in one of the five universal relations, that of husband and wife. If she has a son her position is heightend, as the son pays filial reverence to both his parents. If she should happen to become a widow, and during the remaining years of her life refuses to marry, triumphal arches will probably be raisd to her memory. If, after deth, when she appears before the judgment tribunal, she can show a life of complete virtue, she can then be reborn as a man, and thus

have the opportunity to realize the higher life and virtue open to the male. The curse of concubinage and female slavery is felt thruout the land. That many women in China rule the home with a hand of iron is true, but this is due either to force of character or unyielding stubbornness on the part of the individual women. That many of them are happy is very often due to the fact that, knowing they cannot change their lot, they make the best of it. Dr. Legge, in commenting on the position of woman, in his *Religions of China,* page 109, says, "The Book of Poetry affords us many peeps into the domestic life at the court of King Wan, the founder of the line of Chau, and subsequently at many of the feudal courts. T'ai-sze, Wan's queen, is the theme of many pieces, and one of her noblest qualities is her freedom from jelousy, even in the welfild harem of her lord. Many will think that the force of degradation could no farther go."

Underlying the teachings of the classics, the student feels an undercurrent of hopelessness and despair, and in consequence, of pessimism. Confucius turnd the eyes of his followers back to the past and could find little to praise in his own day. A number of examples could be quoted, such as Analects, VI, VI, 1, "The master said, 'I have not seen a person who lovd virtue or who hated what was not virtuous.'" And IX, XVII, "The master said, 'I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty.'" And XVI, X, XI, "Living in retirement to study their aims, and practising righteousness to carry out their principles:—I have herd these words, but I have not seen such men.'"

And XV, XXV, "The master said, 'Even in my (early) days, a historiographer would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride. Now, alas! there are no such things.'" While his opinion of the official classes of his time is found in XII, XX, 4, Tsze-kung finally inquird, 'Of what sort are those of the present day who engage in government?' The master said, 'Pooh, they are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account.'" Confucius himself is considered the highest type

of character that the universalistic religion can produce. His eulogy, as found in the Doctrine of the Mean, is concluded with these significant words, XXXII, "It is only the individual possest of the most entire sincerity that can exist under heven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nourishing operations of heven and earth: —shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?

"Call him man in his ideal, how ernest he is! Call him an abyss, how deep, he is! Call him heven, how vast he is!

"Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all embracing knowledge, possest of all hevenly virtue?" But he himself was convinct of a sense of failure in his own life. Analects, VII, XXXII, "The master said, 'In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not attaind to.'" Altho convinct that he was sent by heven as a teacher and reformer, yet at the same time he was opprest with the fact of his failure to induce the states of his day to introduce his reforms. He felt that the signs of the times were against him. Thus in the Analects, IX, VIII, "The master said, 'The fung bird does not come; the river sends forth no map:—it is all over with me.'" This pessimism underlying his teachings and life cannot but have left deep traces on the people under the influence of the teachings of the classics.

At the fountain of the universalistic religion the people of China have drunk deeply and for a long time. For several milleniums it has molded their thots and lives. Is it to be wonderd at that the pious Chinaman should have so strenuously resisted the civilization of the West with its strange doctrine and systems of thot? He felt that every innovation was a direct dislocation of the harmony of the universe and nothing but disaster could follow its acceptance. But the hard

logic of fact has broken down the Chinese walls. Today China is welcoming the western civilization. Her sons are going by the thousands to the schools of Japan and the West to bring back from those lands the best that they have for the revival of their country. She is establishing a system of schools of her own. In these schools as well as in the numerous schools establisht by Christian missionaries, modern scientific thot is being taught. That the movement is one fild with the gravest dangers is well shown by the words with which Professor De Groot concluded his lectures on the "Religion of China" at Columbia University in November, 1910:

"It seems evident that the only power able to sap and finally explode the universalistic religion is sound science, based on experimental and mathematical investigation of the laws of nature. But science is as yet not even born in China. Should the time come when it is seriously cultivated, then, no dout, a complete revolution in her religion, philosophy, ethics, literature, political institutions and customs cannot stay away, by which China must either be thoroly disorganizd and ruind or thoroly regenerated. Then China shall cease to be China, the Chinese no longer be Chinese.[4]

"An enormous process, which has alredy begun its work of demolition under the influence of intercourse with foreners. A civilization which is even older than our own, and which for some thousands of years has outlivd the most destructiv storms, recusitating gloriously after every devastating rebellion, after every change of dynasty, after every invasion of barbarians, like a phenix from the fire,—such a civilization, so strong, so deeply rooted, so tenacious, is not attackt without offering resistance. China has no second system in store to put in place of the old; the deth of the old must, accordingly, mean total disorganization, anarchy, destruction,—in short, the fullest realization of her own holy doctrine, that when the Dao is deserted, catastrophes and ruin are inevitable. Will this

[4] I am under great obligations to Professor DeGroot for kindly writing out the above quotation for me from memory in the absence of his manuscript.—J. F. B.

terrible prospect prove powerful enough to detain the nation and its government from the path of renovation? Will the party of conservatism, which no dout has the presentiment that alteration means self-murder, hold its ground and prove that the old Dao of the universe and mankind is indeed indestructible? Sooner or later history will give the answer, but it seems as if there is a great fatality looming on the horizon of poor China. Should the order of the world have decreed that it shall do its cruel work, then may its last day not be for that hapless nation the crack of doom."

There can be no dout that the scientific study of the laws of the universe will undermine the basic principles of the universalistic religion. When that religion falls, what has science to put in its place? A true knowledge of the universe in itself cannot raise the ethical and religious standards of a nation, cannot bring peace to its people. Almost invariably the mere study of science has led to atheism. For centuries the Chinese literati have been given to atheistic speculations and they need no encouragement to continue them. Such a religious anarchy as that can hardly be an improvement on the present religious condition of China. Surely any religion is better than none. Therefore it seems evident that the study of science, vitally necessary as it is, needs some supplementary force to guide it, or rather, that the teaching of science must be but a part of some larger greater force introduced into the life and harts of the Chinese people.

That new life which China needs is the life of Jesus Christ. The modern western civilization, with all its glaring faults and inconsistencies which cannot be too strongly condemd, still is in a great mesure good, and the very hart and center of that which is good is His life and teachings. It is this force which is slowly but irresistably transforming the life of the world. For China to adopt the outer shell of western civilization and not the vitalizing hart, could not but lead to irretrievable ruin.

The beautiful teachings of the Confucian religious system concerning filial piety need to be purified by a knowledge of

the Hevenly Father, God. The cravings of the Chinese soul for fatherhood can only be satisfied by personal contact with the Father thru His Son, Jesus Christ. There is no other way for them to gain this inner living relationship with the Father, for He has the "Words of Life."

The darkness of superstition must be rold away, the tyranny of fear must be overthrown, the oppressions of ignorance must be dispeld. And what power is able effectually to do this if not the illuminating glory of the "Light of the World"?

The Chinese need the optimism which pervades the Christian spirit. In the midst of trials and discouragements, Jesus never douted the ultimate success of His mission. The true Christian is always assured of the successful completion of his task, for he knows that with God there can be no failure. The golden age is in the future and not in the past. Onward, ever onward, upward, ever upward is the battle cry of the Christian hosts. The possession of such an optimism as that must work a complete facing about of the people of China. The significance of so great a movement as that no one can tell.

The task of Christianity in China is, then, not a light one. A body of millions of people must have their whole system of thot radically changd. A new system of education and religion, yes a new life, must be grafted into a people traind into habits formd by milleniums of thot and action. The task is indeed a stupendous one. But the work is the work of God. Two thousand years ago He sent His Son into the world to bring all nations into His Kingdom, to bring all men under the rule of a new law, the law of love. Slowly, indeed, has the spirit of love pervaded the harts of men, but the movement is none the less irresistable. It is God's will and what God wills must be.

Yochow City, Hunan, China.

V.

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PRAYER IN THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM AND WORLD-VIEW.

F. W. HOFFMAN.

Under the pressure of the thought-movements of the past quarter of a century, there is a tendency to regard prayer as a pious form of spiritual exercise that affects nothing outside of the individual who prays. It is merely subjective in its benefits. It is purely cultural. So far as it can be said to secure anything objective, such as obtaining from God that which God otherwise would or could not grant, this lies entirely outside the province of prayer.

This change of emphasis upon the value of prayer is the result of a two-fold movement in modern thought. The first is the idea of evolution whereby the universe is conceived of as existing under the reign of law; and the second is a movement in the more purely intellectual and philosophical world whereby men have sought to substitute for the old standards of authority in religion, the authority of the individual consciousness and judgment.

Under the influence of these ideas, men are today attempting to reconstruct the teaching of the church concerning every prominent doctrine hitherto held and taught, and under the subtle forms advanced by the propagandists of these views, men are being led to adopt peculiar vews concerning God and His government of the world.

The subject of prayer has not escaped the scrutiny of those who hold the modern scientific world-view. The findings of scientific investigations have had a tendency to weaken faith in prayer. It has weakened faith in prayer because it has substituted mere force for what the piety of the Old World

called God. What is needed at this time is the reiteration of the old truth founded upon revelation and testified to by the inmost experience of men, that God is a person apart and distinct from the world He has created, and that He "upholds and governs the same by His eternal counsel and providence."

We desire to set forth first the reasonableness of prayer. We ought never to do anything blindly, but should be able to give a reason for the faith that is in us. Before we can have any true estimate of the value and importance of prayer, we must come to a proper understanding of the Being and Character of God. Men will not pray to a God who is a mere abstraction—the absolute of philosophy; nor will they pray to a God who is regarded "as the compendium of all the powers and laws of nature which would thus necessarily vanish if these should disappear." God's will is expressed in the laws of nature, but the Personality and Will of God is far above and removed from the forces operative in nature. The doctrine of the Divine Immanence which has become so popular with those who wish to hold to the old idea of God and at the same time accept the teaching of modern scientific discovery, has a tendency to confuse things that must be kept eternally separate. The doctrine of the Divine Immanence has even been summoned by one of the foremost of American preachers to prove the reasonableness of prayer offered to God.

"The reasonableness of prayer," writes Dr. Aked, "grows clearer as we ponder the implications of our modern doctrine of the immanence of God. God is the soul of the universe. And as the real—I myself—does not live somewhere outside this body, but at present tabernacles within it, works through it, and manifests itself by means of it, so God is within the universe, works through it and manifests Himself by means of it. This is what is meant by the immanence of God. God is resident will within, not sovereign law outside. God is then within us, within each one of us. And while it is good for us to say as Jesus taught us: 'Our Father Who art in heaven,' it is also good for us to say: 'O God Who art in us'; and when

the truth of this is understood, prayer will become more a living, great reality. For though God is in us, not all of God is in us. Something of Him is within; more, O infinitely more, is without—the shoreless seas of Deity."

These words contain a subtle sophistry that we will do well to counteract. To spread God out piece-meal over a universe is to make as much of an abstraction of Him as if we referred to Him as the one, great impersonal First Cause of all things. The God to Whom we are taught to pray, the God to Whom Christ turned in the crises of his earthly career was more definite than such a Being described above. Men will not long find the help and comfort in prayer that they so much need with no more adequate and satisfying understanding of the Divine Being than these words indicate. When we pray to Our Father we think of Him as One Who is personally above the world, but at the same time as the One Who works unceasingly and independently in the world. In this way we preserve what is true both in the idea of His trancendance as well as in the idea of His immanence. The laws of nature as discovered by science are but the outward expression or manifestation of the Divine Will itself.

Prayer to be reasonable must be based upon a reasonable idea of God, and the only adequate idea that we can have of God is that which is founded upon His self—revelation made of Himself in the course of history and of providence, but most of all in the life and character of Jesus Christ, Who was "the effulgence of His glory and the very image of His substance" (Heb. 1–3). The scriptures that contain this revelation must ever remain the primary source of all our knowledge of God. No one who accepts the teachings of the Word of God can come to any other thought of its Author than that He is the Infinite Personal Spirit, the Eternal Father, Who is the Maker of all things, and Who, because He is the Infinite Personal Spirit and we finite spirits made in His image, both hears and answers prayer.

But is it reasonable to pray to such a Being? Science not

only substitutes a cold abstraction for the Living Personal Spirit, but even goes farther in its attack upon the heart of true piety—the prayer life of God's children—and tries to discourage men by reasoning from the greatness of God and the vastness of the universe to the insignificance of man and the pettiness of human affairs. A writer[1] represents the scientist as saying: "What greater presumption can be imagined? Has the Almighty so sadly blundered in his plans that this little creature can discover to Him their defects and induce Him to make a change at this late day, when everything is so intimately interlinked and interdependent that an interference in one part may demand a reconstruction throughout the whole in order to avoid wide-spread confusion and ruin? Can God spare any special thought now for such infinitesimal interests so long as the concerns of this vast universe are upon Him? He has laid down broad general plans. We cannot reasonably expect Him to listen to our baby prattle about the petty details of our vanishing lives." At first thought one might be tempted to think that here is a formidable argument against the reasonableness of prayer. As long as men thought of the universe as Geocentric, it was possible to believe that God would hear and heed prayers, but since science has resolved this globe into a mere particle of star dust and has revealed to us the countless worlds and the infinite reaches of stellar space, our hold on prayer has received a corresponding shock. Many have no doubt permitted this thought to chill their soul's desires. But far from being an argument against the reasonableness of prayer, it can be shown that it is one of the strongest reasons for prayer. We have abundant proof that God does care for and heed the call of the infinitely small as well as of the vastly great. "Men forget that the whole antithesis between great and small is but relative, and exists not for the Infinite One. He could not possibly control the great says Van Oosterzee,[2] if the small so intimately connected therewith escaped His watchful regard. Yea, precisely herein is the glory of God

[1] W. W. Kinsley, in his book entitled *Science and Prayer.*

[2] *Christian Dogmatics,* Vol. 1, p. 328.

manifested, that He bows down to that which is least, and is Maximus in minimo." The difficulty has been that men think of God as they think of themselves, and through their anthropomorphistic conceptions have obtained deficient views of the working of the Divine Nature and Will. Shall we who have noted with what painstaking care the Creator has wrought upon even the most microscopic of His creatures say, that He has no time or thought for the temporal and eternal welfare of that creature who is the crown of all His creative handiwork, who was made in His own image and after His own likeness and constituted a spiritual personality? "No candid student of nature can fail of becoming profoundly convinced that there is absolutely nothing, however inconspicuous, that does not only embody a divine thought, but in some way plays a part in carrying out the promptings of a divine love."[3]

But again we betake ourselves to that Divine Record and gather from it the strongest encouragement for believing in the care of God for the least of His creatures. Even the psalmist of old expressed it beautifully when he said: "He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry" (Psa. 147–9). But the words of the Saviour are rich in promise: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing! and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows (Matt. X, 29–31). After setting forth the parable of the lost sheep, Jesus said: "Even so it is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones should perish (Matt. XVIII: 14). God not only cares for the least, but even rewards the least good done unto the least. "Whoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward" (Matt. X: 42). The God of Jesus Christ is just as little the God of Deism as the God of Pantheism. He does not cease to stand in immediate relation to that which He has made, even to the least work of His Hand.

[3] *Science and Prayer,* p. 51.

Another common error finding acceptance in many minds is that God, having laid down the laws that rule in the universe, is firmly held by these laws in all that He does. He cannot annul, abrogate or set aside any law without endangering His government. This is one of the stock objections made against prayer. It has been abundantly answered from the standpoint of the Christian Theistic Belief, and one who is unwilling to accept this faith will never be convinced of his error. They who hold this view against the reasonableness of prayer, rob God of His freedom and say that God Who is the Author of law is absolutely bound hand and foot by the law He has ordained and thus exalts the laws of nature over the Will and Personality of God. Here the words of Van Oosterzee are again to the point:[4] "He who in his heart says to the Infinite One: 'Thou canst not upon any single point of Creation suspend the law of gravity ordained by Thee; Thou canst not direct a single ray of light otherwise than is prescribed in Thine own laws; Thou canst not avert from me any disaster which must befal me in the ordinary course of things,' this man believes not in a *Personal God*. . . . He who regards a miracle as inconceivable maintains, not the unchangeableness of God, but His rigid immobility; and forbids Him, in the name of his logic, even the slightest manifestation of grace. The action of the laws of nature is ruled by God. They are in His power, and are so elastic that He can by means of them take away at any moment the existence of every living being in the world. If this is so there is also no reason for doubting the possibility of the answering of prayer in the proper sense of the word. The mystery of the answering of prayer is in other words, that of freedom in the presence of an order which is eternal, but not on that account a rigid order." God's freedom in answering prayer is limited only by His own moral nature. The utter absurdity of the position that God is absolutely bound by His laws will appear in the fact that man overrides by his own superior intelligence and power of will many of the laws of

[4] *Christian Dogmatics,* Vol. 1, p. 338.

nature. Every charge of dynamite used in blasting the solid rock from the quarries, every power and force used to build the stones thus quarried into foundation wall or lofty tower of the perfected temple of worship, represents the interposition of a power above nature to override nature's laws. What marvellous results have not been attained by man exercising his intelligent volition in overcoming the most elemental forces of nature! And yet to grant that man has this power which all must do, and to deny that God can exercise His freedom of Will, only in greater measure, is to say that man is superior to God. *And so a proper estimate of the reasonableness of prayer can only be derived when we have a proper idea of God as a Personal Being, Who exercises a loving care for the least and is free to act for the best interests of all His creatures.*

We desire in the second place to set forth the place and necessity of prayer in the purpose of God for the race.

The stock objections made to the value and efficacy of prayer betoken not only erroneous and deficient ideas of the Divine Being, but also betrays a lack of the understanding of the divine purpose both in creation and in history. Professor William Adams Brown recently wrote:[5] "Whatever else He may be, the Christian's God is a Being Who has a world-purpose and Who exercises a control over all that is." If our discussion of the reasonableness of prayer has been helpful in any particular, it has helped us to the understanding of the sovereignty of God over the universe He has created. We believe not in the sovereignty of law or of unpersonal forces, but we believe in the sovereignty of a Law-Maker, of God, the personal, loving, living, free God. But this does not mean that God exercises His sovereignty in an arbitrary manner. His is a sovereignty exercised according to a well defined moral purpose and plan for the world. Take away this confidence in God's real existence distinct and separate from the world and of His power to control according to a purpose, and Christian faith would be robbed of two of its most distinguishing char-

[5] *Homiletic Review,* November, 1909.

acteristics. In the abstract science and philosophy are unable to set forth the ultimate goal for the universe. Science interprets facts as they are. Bacon said: "By outer perception through the narrow pathway of my senses I will know outer nature by observation." That is all science professes to be able to do, viz: To know outer nature by observation. It cannot reveal to us the ultimate goal for things. The evolutionary hypothesis traces the course nature has taken in the past, it knows nothing about and attempts nothing concerning the future. Philosophy likewise reasons backward, not forward. It discovers by a sort of logical compulsion that back of the phenomenal world there was or is a Great First Cause, but is not able to disclose the ultimate goal of the universe. To this we are shut up to the teachings of revelation. Science can guess. Philosophy can speculate and conjecture. The Christian can know. The Divine Record alone teaches that there is a divine purpose and plan for the world. And this purpose and plan centers in man made in the image of God. Throughout the Bible "one increasing purpose runs." It begins to appear on the very first page which reveals to us the truth that the world was created for man who was commanded to subdue the earth. The purpose of God began to manifest itself more clearly after the entrance of sin. God's purpose in creation was continued in the work of redemption. "No obstacle either in the physical or in the moral world can prevent the accomplishment of Jehovah's purpose"[6] says Professor Brown. History is nothing else but the record of how God is carrying out this plan. The process is a moral and spiritual one. Everything must bend toward the fulfilment of this divine purpose. The purpose of God for the world assumed a still more definite form at the coming of Jesus Christ. He is the center around which the whole history of the world turns. His coming was prepared for by thousands of years of Jewish history, and when He came He inaugurated that Kingdom which has been defined as "that society of redeemed personalities, of

[6] *Christian Theology in Outline,* p. 171.

which Christ is at once the ideal and the mediator, the union of whose members one with another and with God in the community of holy love progressively realized in history constitutes the end for which the world exists."[7]

The world is thus the scene where this Kingdom of redeemed souls is being set up. The Kingdom does not exist for the world but the world exists for the kingdom. God's rule over the world is that of sovereign and the world is dependent upon Him and not He upon the world.

In the light of this spiritual purpose that God has for the world, a new light also breaks upon the subject of prayer. Instead of answers to prayer leading to a violation of the laws of the natural world, God simply does in the moral and spiritual realms what is repeatedly done in other realms, the laws of the lower are subordinated to the laws of the higher. "When God formed his purpose for the world, He deliberately, wisely and from the beginning made prayer a part of the plan of the universe. Instead of prayer changing the divine will, it simply carries it out. Instead of violating law, it complies with that law that is highest. We are aware that chemical law sometimes overrules mechanical law, and the laws of the moral universe overrule the laws of the physical universe. Matter is made for the use of mind, and the material universe is only a platform and an agency for the spiritual. And thus as God has made gravity a law in one realm, so He has made prayer a law in a higher realm, and it is even greater folly to ignore the latter than the former." And so it is no more true that God is the Creator than it is that He is the Hearer and Answerer of prayer.

If the place of prayer in the Christian system is understood only in the light of God's purpose for the world, the necessity for prayer can best be understood when we seek to understand the benefits that it confers and the ends it seeks to advance. The benefits derived from prayer have been variously set forth according as men have been influenced by the tendencies of

[7] *Christian Theology in Outline.*

their day. A view held by not a few is that which regards the main benefit, if not the only one, to be its reflex influence upon the subject offering the prayer.

This is set forth in a sermon by Robertson of Brighton, Eng., in many respects an admirable preacher and a spiritually minded man. His text was the scene in Gethsemane where Christ prayed, saying: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." In his treatment of the subject of prayer, he stumbles over the difficulties that we have mentioned, such as the supremacy of law in the physical universe etc., and under his third head he defines what he regards to be the real benefit of prayer. "All prayer, says Robertson, is to change the will human into submission to the will divine." He traces the steps in the Saviour's agony in the garden until He finally says: 'Not as I will but as Thou wilt.' Not one trace of the human wish remains; strong in submission, He goes to meet His doom: 'Rise let us be going; behold he is at hand that doth betray me.' Hence he concludes that "that prayer which does not succeed in moderating our wish, in changing the passionate desire into still submission, the anxious tumultuous expectation into silent surrender, is no true prayer, and proves that we have not the spirit of true prayer" and then follows this surprising statement: "Practically I say pray as He did, till prayer makes you forget your own wish, and leave it or merge it in God's will. The divine wisdom has given us prayer, not as a means whereby we obtain the good things of earth, but as a means whereby we learn to do without them; not as a means whereby we escape evil, but as a means whereby we become strong to meet it."

This considers the efficacy of prayer to consist in its power to influence the subject to be reconciled to his or her lot and station in spiritual things. It has no power to obtain objective benefits or to obtain what God otherwise would not grant. This position is consistent with the view that the universe is under the rule of inexorable law and that God Himself is bound by

these laws. It makes of prayer "a sort of dumb bell exercise, a mere spiritual drill," but it never affects any change in the mind and will of God. Surely this is not a view that will lead men to engage earnestly in seeking God in prayer. It shows what a dangerous thing it is to build up one's entire thought and understanding of a subject by the use of a solitary scriptural text. Robertson violates one of the most fundamental of principles, that of the "analogy of faith." Every passage of scripture ought to be interpreted in the light of the general teachings of the Word of God. A doctrine that has but one passage of scripture as a foundation hangs upon a slender thread. There are many passages of scripture that are directly opposed to this view. In James we read: "The supplications of a righteous man availeth much in its working. Elijah was a man of like passion with us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again and the heavens gave rain and the earth brought forth her fruit." Again, when Israel in the olden time sinned by making the golden calf and worshipping it, God threatened to destroy the nation; but we read that Moses threw himself into the breach. For forty days and nights he pleaded with God, neither eating bread nor drinking water and finally we read that Moses wrote: "Jehovah hearkened unto me that time also" (Deut. 9: 18 + 19). This indicates that Moses' earnestness and vicarious intercession availed with God and wrought a change in the Divine purpose. We read in Luke that Christ said to Peter: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan asked to have you that he might sift you as wheat, but I made supplication for thee that thy faith fail not." And so we could go on and multiply instances where the scriptures give illustrations where God was importuned and where He heard, sent help and deliverance. There is the case of Jacob at Peniel, of Hannah the mother of Samuel, of Daniel, Nehemiah, of the Syro-Phœnician woman, Blind Bartimaeus and Cornelius the centurion. Thousands of instances in church history and in the experience of God's children could be adduced, in

all of which cases men have testified to the objective benefits derived from prayer.

It is a part of God's plan and purpose that men should come into possession of gifts and blessings through earnest importunate prayer. To the question: 'What hath God commanded us to ask of Him?' the Heidelberg Catechism[8] answers: "All things necessary for soul and body; which Christ our Lord has comprised in that prayer He Himself has taught us.' "We have therefore to maintain," says Van Oosterzee, "that to prayer must be ascribed not merely a psychological, but also a metaphysical operation; in other words that by praying we not merely strengthen ourselves for that which is good, but that God Himself, according to His promise, grants to us in and thro prayer good gifts, specially those of the Holy Ghost."

It has been thought necessary by some, in order to overcome what they suppose was an insurmountable difficulty, viz: that prayer should cause a change in the Divine purpose, to suggest that God foresaw and foreknew all the prayers that men would make and that He formed His plan accordingly. But such a view is both philosophically and scripturally untenable. The thought does violence to our religious feeling. It does not deflect from God's greatness that He hears the cry of the suppliant and sends relief. It rather ministers to the glory of His freedom and reveals His essential Fatherhood.

If prayer is only retro-active, if its chief value is to bring us into sympathy with God and thus leads us to work better for the realization of His purpose for all men, prayer would be a splendid discipline. But if this were all, there would be little praying done. Men need the additional incentive and encouragement that God can be entreated, and that prayer avails with Him, and that He is able to do more for us and for others than He could if we did not pray.

Rev. Dr. David Gregg, in his book entitled: *Prayer as a Working Force,* writes: "We teach that prayer is a working power in the church because prayer influences God to act in

[8] Question, 118.

His Almightiness in behalf of the church and for the salvation of mankind. The history of the church is full of narratives of prayer that have gone straight to heaven and have come back with the very thing prayed for. These answers cannot be explained except on the theory of a prayer-hearing God. Because of these answers I affirm and I have God's Book back of me, that nothing lies beyond the reach of prayer, except that which lies outside the Will of God. But the scope of the Will of God is vast, very vast, it is like the scope of His Almightiness."

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO.

VI.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND UNITY.

EDWIN B. NIVER,

Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Md.

It was once said that the two great achievements of the twentieth century would be the conquest of the air and the conquest of the ether, or in other words wireless telegraphy and the aëroplane. At the beginning of the second decade of the century we see the first of these in world-wide practical operation, and the second in the initial stage of successful accomplishment. The late Rev. Dr. Huntington, of New York, in his last public address, deprecating this view of material marvels being the crown of the age, declared that in his opinion international arbitration and the unifying of the Christian Church would be the chief concern of the twentieth century. In the two years since his death the principle of judicial settlement of international disputes has engaged the world as never before, while an arbitration treaty including even questions of honor is pending between this country and Great Britain. Last October the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church took the momentous action of calling a world-wide Conference on Faith and Order as a preliminary step to healing the divisions of Christendom. Surely these two political and religious tasks constitute the supreme challenge which the Providence of God has set before the mind and conscience of Christian men to-day.

It is the object of the present paper to sketch three epoch-making movements in the Episcopal Church toward unity, as indicating first, the ideal of unity we have come to possess; and secondly, the part which we conceive our own communion to have in furthering it.

The earliest of these movements goes back over fifty years

and is associated with the name of Dr. Muhlenberg; the second is the utterance of the Chicago Convention of 1886 which led to Lambeth Platform or Quadrilateral; the last is the action (already referred to) of the Cincinnati Convention of 1910, calling a Conference on Faith and Order planned on the lines of the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference. A distinct advance in definiteness of aim and in Christian charity is to be seen in comparing the formal utterances of these three movements. The new ideal of unity is by addition not by subtraction, by comprehension rather than by elimination. It must preserve and conserve all that is sacred and of permanent worth in the various communions engaged in the task, and that not primarily for the sake of unity but for the sake of truth. It is in the spirit of such a larger comprehension that I write, and shall try to interpret the attitude of my own Church. These formal utterances have never conceived a unity to be secured by one communion absorbing all others, though often so misunderstood.

Beginning with the earliest, they have on the contrary always looked to a larger aggregate of Christian units of which the Episcopal Church should form a part, and never to a mere enlargement or perpetuation of our own system in detail. In the consideration of the structural principles of polity it has ever been the setting forth of what we shared with other historic churches, not of what we exclusively possessed. Our loftiest ambition, if it may be called such, has been to furnish a rallying point for the meeting and blending of both Catholic and Protestant types, and then to lose our isolation in a larger unity which should combine both. These two types seem permanent in the Christian experience of the ages. They represent different angles, points of view, ways of approach, to divine truth. Whether springing mainly from temperament or from early association they must be reckoned with in any discussion of unity. It was the Roman Catholic, De Maistre, who long ago recognized that the Anglican Church occupied a mediating position between Rome and Geneva. It is in virtue of that

historic position that we conceive our part in the unifying of Christendom, that we have dreamed of our calling to blaze the way for the realization of the larger hope.

To begin with the first of these attempts, we must study the so-called Memorial Movement. It was at the General Convention of 1853, at New York, that the famous memorial or petition was presented to the House of Bishops by Dr. Muhlenberg and sundry other presbyters. What was its object, its purpose, —what was it that the memorialists wanted? The best answer is the brief text of the petition itself, omitting only the introduction and conclusion. "The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity, the new and subtle forms of unbelief adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age, the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith, and as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst, are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures to meet these exigencies of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided by our present ecclesiastical system; in other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age? This question, your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purpose above mentioned—that a wider door must be opened to the Gospel ministry than that through which her candidates for Holy Orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candi-

dates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed—men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament. With deference it is asked, ought such an accession to your means in executing your high commission, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' be refused for the sake of conformity in matters recognized in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer as unessentials? Dare we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest, while we reject all laborers but those of one peculiar type? The extension of orders to the class of men contemplated (with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

"In addition to the prospect of immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the one Faith, the one Lord, and the one Baptism, and who need only such a bond to be drawn into closer and more primitive fellowship, is here believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your venerable body as a College of Catholic and Apostolic Bishops *as such.*

"This leads your petitioners to declare the ultimate design of their memorial—which is to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it is now,

leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel. To define and act upon such a system, it is believed, must sooner or later be the work of an American Catholic Episcopate."

The ideal sketched by the memorial did not stop with improvement in our internal organization, with the mere shaking up of the dry bones of conservatism so far as our own work was concerned. It was the first clear and ringing note in our history of a duty, of an obligation, toward the larger Christendom of America, a call not simply to mind our own affairs in the old easy-going, comfortable, denominational spirit, but to lift our vision to some greater aggregation of units in the kingdom of God. Muhlenberg and his colleagues believed that our communion had come to the parting of the ways where it must either dwarf and harden into a sect or become in fact a Catholic Church. The new life and spirit shown in parochial methods, and the more direct effort to reach all classes of men, have saved us in a large part from the first alternative. But in the sense in which the catholic ideal was conceived by the memorialists we are still far short of making good the second.

Beyond the emancipation of the episcopate, the memorial in its ultimate design suggested a way of approach toward the partial restoration, at least, of the visible unity of the Church of Christ. Not by the absorption or conversion of all types into one, but by forming a larger aggregate of the Christian forces of this country, with the Episcopal Church as the central bond of union, that Church remaining intact with all its distinctive features, but existing side by side with other uses within the wider jurisdiction of the Bishops. The catholic ideal in its entirety cannot be less than the visible inter-communion and fellowship of all Christians the world over upon a common faith and order. But any approach on our part toward that ideal must be made first in our own land, and from the uncompromising attitude of Rome can only begin among the scattered

and divided Churches of the Reformation. The memorialists saw that very clearly fifty years ago. It is, if anything, more clear to-day.

Muhlenberg made the point about orders that for any effective union or inter-communion among the several Protestant bodies, for any confederacy based upon apostolic order, each must have a ministry the validity of which was acknowledged by all others, and that none but a ministry Episcopally-ordained was so acknowledged. He also insisted that the identical rules and requirements of our own particular communion had not the authority of ancient and universal precedent, and so had not the claim of catholicity. To require anything as a condition for Holy Orders which had not that claim was to be virtually sectarian. In the weighty words of Bishop Burgess at that time, the catholic ideal implies variety as well as uniformity—uniformity as to essentials of faith and order, variety as to liturgical and canonical prescriptions.

The Episcopal Church was conceived in the memorial as being in its essential elements the form and type of a broader and more comprehensive catholic system. To close this part with the words of Dr. Muhlenberg: "Bid her (the Church) look over this vast continent filling with people from all nations and languages and tongues, and see the folly of hoping to perpetuate among them an Anglican Communion that will ever be recognized as more than an honorable sect. Bid her to give over the vain attempt to cast all men's minds into one mold. Bid her cherish among her own members mutual toleration of opinion in doctrine and taste in worship; remembering that uniform sameness in lesser matters may be the ambition of a society, a party, a school in the Church, but far below any genuine aspiration of the Church herself. It is the genius of catholicism which is now knocking at her doors. Let her refuse to open. Let her, if she will, make them faster still, with new bolts and bars, and then take her rest, to dream a wilder dream than any of the memorial—of becoming the Catholic Church of these United States!"

The questions raised by the memorial were not settled, the memorialists were not satisfied. The debate and discussion continued to the General Convention of 1859, when at length the on-coming of the Civil War overshadowed all other issues, civil and ecclesiastical. The only gain was the provision for a permanent Commission on Church Unity. It was first appointed in 1856. Like other similar bodies it slumbered many years. Finally in 1886, another petition asking that some steps be taken for promoting Christian Unity was presented at the General Convention of Chicago,—a petition signed by 1,000 clergymen (including 33 bishops) and nearly 2,000 laymen. What was to be done with this new memorial? Someone thought of the Commission on Church Unity. Sure enough it was there, still in existence though it had never done anything. One of the indirect results of the earlier movement was thus to furnish a body to which such resolutions could be referred. The Chicago Declaration was adopted in response to this petition. It is as follows:

"We, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in council assembled as Bishops in the Church of God, do hereby solemnly declare to whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow Christians of different communions in this land, who, in their several spheres, have contended for the religion of Christ:

"1. Our earnest desire that the Saviour's prayer: 'That we may all be one,' may, in its deepest and truest sense be speedily fulfilled.

"2. That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church.

"3. That in all things of human ordering or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of our own.

"4. That this Church does not seek to absorb other Communions, but rather coöperating with them on the basis of a

common faith and order, to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces and the visible manifestation of Christ in the world. But furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian Unity now so earnestly desired can be restored only by the return of all Christian Communions to the principles of Unity—exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence, which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and His apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.

"As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of Unity among the divided branches of Christendom we account the following, to wit:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Revealed Word of God.

"2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.

"3. The two Sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

"4. The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

"*Furthermore,* Deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian Bodies seeking the restoration of the organic Unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass."

Two years later, in 1886, the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion, *i. e.*, all the churches in communion with the

Church of England, including its colonial and missionary branches, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the Church of Ireland, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, met for a month of conference at Lambeth Palace, London. This body affirmed, and with a few verbal changes adopted as its own, the Chicago Declaration of 1886. It has since been known the world over as the Lambeth Platform, or Quadrilateral, from its four points, bases, or corner-stones for constructing thereon a united Christendom of the future. To summarize again, these were the Holy Scriptures, the two historic Creeds, namely, the Apostles and the Nicene, the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, and the Historic Episcopate. The last point upon which acceptance of the platform by Protestant communions has chiefly hinged means simply this, Episcopacy as a fact of Christian history, as a governmental polity or regulation, without any theory of tactual succession or sacerdotal powers.

Not since the great break-up of the Reformation has there been so notable, weighty and definite an utterance to restore the unity of the Church of Christ. Nearly all serious discussion about Christian Unity during the last twenty years has centered around this platform. Just one word of comment before we leave it. The Anglican Communion has been criticised for making its own terms as to fundamentals, for asking all others to adopt just what it has. The fact is that much that is peculiar, distinctive and dearly valued, was conceded as not essential to unity. Perhaps there is nothing more deeply associated, interwoven, with the history of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in this country than the Book of Common Prayer. But with the seriousness of a great issue before them, the Bishops did not make liturgical uniformity a test of intercommunion or fellowship. They gave up the Prayer Book as a condition or essential for unity. No mention of it appears in the Quadrilateral. Not that it was apprehended that the members of the Anglican Communion would ever discard it themselves as a form of public worship, but that it should not

be imposed upon others. Christian communion or fellowship in other words was not to be conditioned by, or made dependent on, any one form of public worship. In reality the preface of our American Prayer Book, though often overlooked, states the same principle. "It is a most invaluable part of that blessed liberty wherewith Christ has made us free that in His worship different forms and usages may without offense be allowed, provided the substance of the faith be kept entire." And "when in the course of Divine Providence these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included; and the different religious denominations of Christians in these States were left at full and equal liberty to model and organize their respective Churches and forms of worship and discipline in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity." These passages as well as the Preface to the Ordinal dispose of the charge that the Anglican Communion has ever in its formularies unchurched other Christians or made its own liturgical peculiarities a condition for re-union.

But it may well be repeated that the approach to unity should not be by concession merely, but by contribution. What has each great communion to give, to offer, in the way of structural principles for the building of the ideal Church of the future? The most distinctive mark of the Anglican Church among the Churches of the Reformation is the Episcopate. In the Providence of God that Church is the steward, the trustee, of an historic ministry which Dr. Newman Smyth in his *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism* calls the key to the whole situation. It is a ministry reaching back in the past to the earliest Christian ages, one reaching out so widely in present extent as to include the essential, underlying form of both the Roman and the Eastern Churches. Its associations cover nearly the whole of Christian history. It is already, has been from the beginning "locally adapted" in America. An elective, constitutional, representative polity is the chief feature, the mark of the organized life of the Protestant Episcopal

Church. There is at the same time a growing tendency in all Protestant communions to value executive leadership and to seek it in some form if not in the historic Episcopate.

The supreme motive, however, which has re-opened the whole question of unity and pressed it as never before upon the Christian conscience is Missions. The unity of the Church and the evangelization of the world are to-day seen as parts of one great problem. The more directly and practically the different communions move toward the accomplishment of world-evangelization, the closer must they be brought to one another. The goal, the vision, which all have come to see abroad, reacts upon relations at home. The Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Edinburgh Conference on Missions have aroused the strong practical sense of the laity to this cognate problem of unity. Largely, I believe, because the Episcopal Church has participated in both of these, it has been led to take a new and momentous step toward unity.

Nearly twenty-five years ago in the Lambeth Platform we set forth our terms for the rest of Christendom to know just where we stood, and just what we thought. It was addressed rather formally "To all whom it may concern." No wonder it rather provoked the inquiry, Who are these Bishops that they should venture thus to speak before they have been spoken to? Now our attitude in taking the initiative for a world-conference on faith and order is entirely different. We are not delivering an ultimatum. We are rather saying, "Let us come together and talk it over." Do you not see what a step forward is here? Before we were content to state our own principles. Now we ask others to meet us and to state theirs.

Let me quote from the preface the statement which led up to the resolution unanimously adopted by both houses of the Convention at Cincinnati last October:

"Your committee," the statement says, "is of one mind. We believe that the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of

faith and order. We believe, further, that all Christian communions are in accord with us in our desire to lay aside self-will, and to put on the mind which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We would heed this call of the Spirit of God in all lowliness, and with singleness of purpose. We would place ourselves by the side of our fellow-Christians, looking not only on our own things, but also on the things of others, convinced that our one hope of mutual understanding is in taking personal counsel together in the spirit of love and forbearance. It is our conviction that such a conference, for the purpose of study and discussion, without power to legislate or to adopt resolutions, is the next step toward unity.

"With grief for our aloofness in the past, and for our faults of pride and self-sufficiency which make for schism; with loyalty to the truth as we see it, and with respect for the convictions of those who differ from us, holding the belief that the beginnings of unity are to be found in the clear statement and full consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as of those things in which we are at one, we respectfully submit the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, There is to-day among all Christian people a growing desire for the fulfillment of our Lord's prayer that all His disciples may be one, that the world may believe that God has sent Him:

"*Resolved:* The House of Bishops concurring, that a joint commission be appointed to bring about a conference for the consideration of questions touching faith and order, and that all Christian communions throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour be asked to unite with us in arranging for and conducting such a conference. The commission shall consist of seven Bishops appointed by the Chairman of the House of Bishops, and seven presbyters and seven laymen appointed by the President of the House of Deputies, and shall have power to add to its number and to fill any vacancies occurring before the next General Convention."

The report, by general request, was adopted by a unanimous

and rising vote. The Committee on Plan and Scope of this Conference lay great stress upon the importance of earnest prayer for their guidance and for the unity of Christ's flock on the part of all Christian people. We want all our congregations to share in the largest plans and visions which God is bringing before His world and His Church to-day. The ideal of the one flock, one Shepherd, challenges our faith as never before. Not the one fold, that is a mistranslation which has done great harm in the past. The one fold would mean absolute uniformity, the merging of all into the organization of one, which is the Roman ideal. Far different is the unity of the one flock, gathered or sheltered in different folds, a unity found in the guidance and following of the one Shepherd. The picture is of many national and racial churches independent each of the others in administration and forms of worship but united in inter-communion and fellowship on a definite organic basis, just precisely as we of the Protestant Episcopal Church are united with the Church of England or with any other branch of the Anglican Communion. That is the ideal towards which we strive and for which we pray. While in the past unity without truth has been destructive, and truth without unity has been feeble, now in our day truth and unity combined, we believe, will be strong enough to win the world for Christ. May the Prince of Peace take away from His children everywhere all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder from godly union and concord; that as there is but one Body and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may be all of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity.

BALTIMORE, MD.

VII.

THE VALUE OF DISCIPLINE.[1]

WILLIAM B. OWEN.

I bring words of hearty greeting to Franklin and Marshall College as one of the strongholds of sound liberal training—progressive certainly, with free and ready adjustment to new conditions, but in these adjustments, not yielding so much to the demand, *e. g.,* for vocational studies as to thwart the main purposes of liberal training. Colleges that have done that are now finding that they must come back; Franklin and Marshall need take no backward step.

We do not object to the word "practical" if it is used in its larger meanings, but to "commercialize"—if that term may be applied to our tendencies in education—we can hardly resist the impression of debasement, for in education we are dealing with the human spirit. "Standardize" is a good word, newly applied, and has an exact and scientific ring, but if it is intended to suggest to us an exact analogy between processes of education in a college and processes of manufacture in a mill, where your raw material is put in and your finished product comes out; and if there is to be a strict commercial accounting of hours of study, of recitation, and of lecture, and an economic scrutiny of the use of floor space and all appliances, so that the ledger will show for every dollar of expenditure a dollar of return and a little more for profit, then that use of "standardization" will somewhat rasp our finer sensibilities,—mainly because in education we are dealing with values which do not yield themselves to measurement on the scale of dollars.

I hope I do not caricature that very able and thoughtful

[1] An address delivered before the graduating class of Franklin and Marshall College at the annual commencement, June 8, 1911.

document, Bulletin No. 5 of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education. I do not mean to misrepresent it; but the very terms in which the idea is expressed are such that the statement of the analogy sounds like caricature. Raw material, *e. g.*, what is it in this "industry" of education but the members of the freshman class? Should we so designate them in the serious language of science? The flippant sophomore may so name them, and they must endure it I suppose; but they do so with a shrug of resentment even in that case. Then "finished product." Your graduating senior, now becoming keenly aware that instead of being "finished" he is only ready to begin, will blush at the phrase and wonder whether it is science or satire.

In mere knowledge very likely we are on the lowest level of educational results, and even knowledge, while we can test the possessor of it by examinations, we cannot make any inventory of its value in terms of dollars.

Knowledge of course is important, but relatively the least important element of education.

it is not power unless under special conditions. When it comes to that point where it utilizes the forces of nature, and masters the conditions of supplying the needs of life, we may call it power; when in the processes of its handling there emerges some kind of capacity, then it is power; when it reaches that point where it can be transmuted into character, then it is power; but the mere knowledge of facts as a personal accomplishment is not power, and has in itself little value of any kind.

Now this passing of knowledge into something finer, by means of reflection, experience, the familiar handling of knowledge under circumstances such that it will yield up its best fruits,—this transmutation of mere knowledge into discernment, accuracy, judgment, prudence, wisdom—shrewdness, duplicity, knavery, etc., is what chiefly concerns us in education. We note differences here. To take a single contrast—wisdom—shrewdness. Wisdom—that lifts a man to larger outlook in

life, ennobling his whole nature, qualifying him therefore to choose ends that may be pursued with safety and honor. Shrewdness—the keen edge of expediency to note advantages under given circumstances, with sharp outlook for the main chance, and that qualifies a man therefore to devise means to any end, however wisely or unwisely that end may have been chosen. Your shrewd man may pervert the good and play tricks with conscience and with motives. You cannot trust him to apply your preachments of righteousness and mercy. He will apply every precept so as to place the duty on the other man and the benefit upon himself. Incidentally here, it were well to have knowledge ripen toward wisdom rather than toward shrewdness.

Then there are processes in the getting and handling of knowledge that give practice in thinking and growth in that power. But here we are in regions where the advances of growth are not visible. If a man gain ten pounds avoirdupois, the scales will show that to the minutest fraction of an ounce, but there are no visible units of thought growth, or any tangible units in the texture of character, of whose increase one is immediately aware. A lad may pass an hour or two, under instruction, in learning how to adjust some delicate instrument as a theodolite or a microscope; and may easily see in that manipulation, his rapid advance in skill of eye and hand; but, in the knowledge and the exercises that give discipline of intelligence, and that deepen moral conviction, the results are such as not to be immediately obvious. The man with the scales can detect no difference. The man with the ledger will be puzzled to know how much credit to give, or whether he shall give any.

The student himself will be ten years in finding out what the study of Socrates in a certain class room contributed to his moral fiber, and may be still longer in realizing the value to him, in the development of effecting thinking, of his work in trigonometry and in Cicero. After a long time he will begin to see it, and may go back at some commencement season and tell his Professor that such work was the most valuable part of

his education, though at the time it seemed to him useless and irksome.

The education of the utilities has therefore popularly an enormous advantage over the education of culture, because it presents practical and obvious values. Culture is the refinement of intelligence. It will not be overlooked by the careful educator, though it may easily be overlooked by throngs of students.

If then there be a great rush to vocational and utilitarian studies, on the part of those who might have and should have a broader training for their work, that does not prove the superior value of vocational studies; it only suggests a possible lack of insight and mature judgment on the part of those who so choose.

These considerations throw a welcome light on the subject of free electives. That a boy may study what he pleases, suggests a perilous extreme. Suppose it should please him to study nothing! You may have noticed that logic has a quaint habit of playing tricks when thus pushed to extremes.

Peace! The world sighs for it, prays for it, groans under the horrors and the burdens of warfare. How then shall we have peace? Why build war ships so big, make cannon so mighty, projectiles so irresistible, make defensive armor so impenetrable, maintain armies in every nation so large and ready that war will be impossible!

If one bathe once a year, one is clean at long intervals; once a week, one is clean much oftener; every day, twice a day, clean all the time. Then the trick—if one is clean all the time why need one bathe at all!

Of the many reasons against free election that against its principle and working should be sufficient,—the liability to error in precocious specialization, subjects if left to the personal choice of students being so often selected upon grounds of superficial or even capricious interest. It is more important to know what a boy needs in education than what he likes, and what he needs more likely to be thoroughly understood by those

who have insight and experience and an enduring earnestness and sincerity in the work of education.

What he really needs is discipline of thought. Note two or three elementary stages of this discipline—very simply, without any garnishing of psychological or pedagogical technicalities;—1st to promote readiness of thought, ease and speed in its common movements. Not whimsical, involuntary thinking; that accomplishes so little. What we must have is consecutive thinking under the control of the will.

To hold in check the capricious impulses of thought—to keep it active and also to hold the currents of it in definite channels —this is one of the supreme values of school work, cultivating the power of attention, habits of study, accomplished by personal supervision, but also and mainly through class drill, making thought obedient to the call of questions.

A class, say, of fifteen pupils, plied with rapid questions for thirty minutes, a hundred questions within that time—perhaps twice that many, for they are easy, the easier the better, for the purpose is not to test knowledge but to train thought; and the ideal situation is that every pupil will answer every question, not knowing who will be called upon to answer it aloud. (2) Promptness in certain processes of exact reasoning. This we get in the mathematics, from mental arithmetic to the calculus. (3) Accuracy in the observation of simple facts; to let simple facts lie clear and true upon the mind as they may lie upon the eye. (4) Coming to correct conclusions from facts. This involves not only clear perception of the facts, but also the recognition of their relations to each other.

This is reasoning, a valuable quality. Without it we make mistakes and are failures. Indeed life's failures come mainly from this source. Certainly there are other failures—moral failures, that strew the ways of life with wrecks that challenge our tears. Of these we do not now speak, but rather of our failure to do our common work. This comes from two sources, —lack of force, which we often mistakenly call laziness, and lack of judgment.

Here we are distinctly within the realm of the practical. In this gift of judgment we touch the highest form of intellectual endowment. The man who in any given situation knows just what to do is the man of the hour.

The man who in any difficult situation can instantly solve the situation by a stroke of insight that goes straight to its heart is the great man;—in invention Edison, in finance Morgan, in war and statecraft Julius Cæsar.

These are eminent instances, but the quality of which we are speaking is universally valuable through all the grades of work, —the maid in your kitchen wants it, your builder, your teamster, as much in his sphere as the president of your bank or the governor of your state, and the work is as fatally vitiated by its absence in the one case as in the other.

I am, of course, well aware that the school cannot impart judgment. That at its foundation is mother wit, that fundamental stuff in men which we call natural ability. But the school can help in two ways: It opens to us a large fund of recorded experience. Eight or ten years of school life gives us some sort of access to the experience of three or four thousand years, and what we know about life, and how to do things comes to us largely in this way.

But chiefly, the school helps in the development of such natural gifts as we may have. Without development they will be of little use, so the school undertakes to guide and train us in judgment—by various methods doubtless and on various subjects, but I wish to emphasize the value of that training which comes from dealing with thoughts rather than with things.

Reason must grow upon its own product—that which expresses thought.

In language we have the very implements of reason, and to learn its free use we must make ourselves masters of the processes of speech because these are the implements of reason.

We can hardly overestimate the value of language study in promoting growth in intelligence. Our earliest efforts in thinking are determined by the meanings which we gradually learn

to attach to the words that we hear. We widen our thinking by getting new words and by going deeper into the significance of those we know. From first to last we are led on in pathways that are marked out by speech.

In school or out of school we are drawing upon the wealth which has accumulated in speech.

Our very words are charged with a kind of vitality—with the heart and thinking of the men who have used them. When a nation has been speaking and writing and printing a word for centuries, coloring it with the events of their public and personal life, expressing by it their temper, their courtesy, the results of their thinking, pouring into it their convictions and their passions—you can easily see what a delicate and marvelous instrument we may have in a common word, as Shakespeare or Milton or Webster or Lincoln may use it. It should be the purpose of educational training to bring us into the fullest possible control of this stored up wealth.

So far on the side of facts, regarding words as facts.

Then the handling of the elements of speech in their relations is an exercise of great value in the development of intelligence. The elements of speech are the implements of reason, and the processes of speech are the methods of reason; so it is the patient handling of these elements in their relations that develops reasoning power. It is by working upon sentences, getting their meaning, and by exercises in their formation, that the crude insights of the untrained mind are brought forward to something like sagacity.

This seems so elementary that one hesitates to speak of it in such a presence as this; yet in such a presence as this it is likely to be best understood that what most boys and girls need on entering college is the power to grasp clearly the meaning of a paragraph of classic text.

The relations of words in a clause, or of clauses to each other are not arbitrary or accidental, but are the essential relations of logic; so that in dealing with them day in and day out, through much of our school life, we get the habit of tracing relationship

and the instinct of feeling it. This habit and this instinct lie at the foundations of reasoning power. These give readiness and ripeness to the mind liberally trained.

I have no occasion at present to insist upon the use of the ancient classics as the master materials of liberal training. Many do so insist, and under other circumstances I might have something to say in that direction; but let me here admit that, except for convenience, better appliances and immemorial habit in education, the ancient languages have no monopoly of disciplinary value over the modern; but the best illustration of our present point will be found in a language that is at least foreign.

Note the progress of a boy in mastering a new sentence in Goethe or Cicero from the time when it is almost a blank to the time when its meaning is clear to him. He must give each word its proper meaning; must fit words to each other which are in the sentence remote; must see differences between forms that look alike—often resting a decision upon a minute distinction.

The dictionary may give a dozen meanings for some word, and that will open new vistas of suggestion and probability into which he must boldly walk and weigh conflicting claims. He must constantly revise previous impressions in the light of fuller knowledge. The main purpose of all this, in the stage of which I am speaking, is diciplinary, viz., to cultivate those very activities of reason whose supreme value is put to the test in every emergency of life and work. I need not delay you to go through the steps in detail, but only to remind you that in every step of the process he has been grouping facts and forming judgments from their relations,—in a crude and halting way of course, but he does better and better as he goes on. There is material here for processes that develop the finest judgment, just as in translation there is room for the best that the best can give—discernment, precision, delicacy of insight, felicity of phrase.

Unconscious growth in the interpreting intelligence is the

fruit of this drill. It ripens through familiarity with linguistic essentials, but the real gain is in the keen insights of intelligence in memory, readiness, accuracy, and in the breadth and alertness of mental action.

The time is too brief for me to dwell upon the valuable elements of training derived from the study of science. I had almost said equally valuable, but it is different. There is manipulation and experiment, and these make knowledge more definite and more permanent. There is training of the eye and hand as well as of the mind; and at times great use and culture of the imagination. Still we make little gain here in the growth of discriminating thought—in the development of the interpreting intelligence.

If we pass now from the quality of discipline to the quality of the truth acquired, we shall find the claims of science cannot be passed over so lightly.

Science opens to us the world of nature and we rise to the apprehension of it in proportion to our own powers of expanding thought.

The objects we study draw us on by all degrees of interest,—on every hand the unknown and its challenge to the instinct of investigation, objects curious, useful, objects beautiful and wonderful. In mathematics not only, but in the study of types and laws and adaptations in nature, men seem to swing out into the inspiring task of tracing the very thoughts of God! How time is lengthened for us when we begin to realize the duration of geologic ages! How space deepens when we observe a star that presents no parallax in all the wide swing of our annual motion!

It would seem to fall in with such a course, if, so far as general education is concerned, students were brought forward rapidly to the results of scientific research, with only enough of the elementary manipulation and experiment to make these results intelligible. Some of the sciences should be represented in the required part of a liberal course, not with exhaustive and technical study of detail, but with adequate introduction

and then freedom to range among the educating ideas of science.

The specialist of course, must go further—for purposes of research, for teaching, and for the purposes of application to the utilities of life.

But I speak now from the majorities of average men, and insist upon the educational rather than the practical values of science. Fortunately the masses of men may avail themselves of these practical benefits without knowing much about the sciences, just as we may breathe the air without knowing of its constituent gases, or be nourished by our dinner without knowing anything about Dr. Wiley's analysis of the foods, or anything scientifically about the processes of nutrition. One man can build a bridge if he be a competent engineer, millions of men may cross it without being engineers at all.

Far otherwise is it with culture, with character, and the ideals of life. Every man must get these for himself or go without them. Elevating thoughts are of no use to us until they have passed into the processes of our own thinking. And so we enter the glorious realm of humane interests—the record of human achievement full of inspiration and power; the noble thoughts of great thinkers, living truths wrought out of human experience, and all shaped into beautiful expressions under the creative imagination of gifted men—the humanities, indeed, the inspiration and the nutriment of living souls.

To this inheritance our general courses should introduce students. We should lift them toward the level of these thinkers —not for selfish refinement, but for the symmetrical development of the whole mind and nature. Refinement indeed it is, but refinement of power, refinement of discrimination in matters of thought and judgment and taste, of faith and morals, of every interest which the student's larger life may compass.

Lafayette College,
Easton, Pa.

VIII.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

The ferment of ideas and the extraordinary hopes aroused by the French Revolution ushered in a fresh era of utopias, which waned only with the rise of modern socialism more than half a century later, and which, while more conspicuous and fruitful in France, was felt also throughout western Europe. The negative critical movement, which filled the eighteenth century and culminated in the French Revolution, was on its economic side a movement to accomplish the liberation of individual effort from both feudal survivals and governmental fetters. But it frequently happens in social evolution that the change in the world of ideas does not keep pace with the change in the world of external fact. The consequence is that the old order is demolished faster than the new can be fashioned to take its place. This was precisely the case after the outbreak of the French Revolution. "The disorganization of the body of opinion," says Ingram, "which underlay the old economic system, had outrun the progress towards the establishment of new principles adequate to form a guidance in the future. The critical philosophy which had wrought the disorganization could only repeat its formulae of absolute liberty but was powerless for reconstruction." Not only was there a disharmony between life and thought, in this transition from the old order to the new, between social institutions and arrangements on the one side and social principles and sentiments on the other, but in the world of social opinion itself everything was in a flux. The dominant characteristic of the period was a continuous oscillation between the tendency to recur to outworn ideas and a vague impulse towards a new order of things.

Sometimes this impulse took an anarchical direction; more frequently it manifested itself as a decided reaction from the excessive individualism of the Revolution to the philosophy of communism and socialism.

An instance of the former tendency is to be seen in Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political Justice.* William Godwin (1756–1836) was a non-conformist minister whose warm sympathies with the French Revolution, Englishman though he was, and whose acceptance of the philosophy of that movement gradually undermined his religious opinions and eventually forced him to relinquish the ministry. But long before the French Revolution, which only served to give to his reflections a deeper meaning and intensity, Godwin had been profoundly impressed by the evils of the existing social order; and his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice,* which was written in the first flush of the Revolution and published in 1793, is a serious attempt at the construction of a better one.

In common with many of his contemporaries, as well as with the exponents of modern socialism universally, Godwin starts out with the assumption that all the evils of society have their root in bad institutions. Social institutions, he boldly asserts, make individual character; for the characters of men are blanks which their external circumstances, particularly their political institutions, fill in. Hence for every nation the character of its government becomes at once a matter of the first importance. That there must be some sort of government under existing conditions Godwin is ready to admit. But it is an evil nevertheless, even at its best. The only reason for its toleration is that it "finds our rights invaded and substitutes an invasion less mischievous for one that is more so"; and it is perpetuated by the "infantine and uninstructed confidence of the many." From this account of the origin and perpetuation of government it is but a short step to the principle that it should be strictly regulated and its action confined within the narrowest possible limits.

But government is necessary, according to Godwin, only be-

cause human nature has not yet realized its higher possibilities. It follows, therefore, that the toleration of government must be regarded merely as a temporary stage in the development of the race. In the future with the growth of intelligence human nature will be so transformed that there will be no need for any sort of force or violence, no need even for penal laws, no need indeed for any control of man by man. Governments will cease to be tolerated for they will be then unnecessary evils. Reason will determine action; and through the peaceful influence of truth perfection and happiness will be established on earth.

The chief means of accomplishing this growth of intelligence, which will transform human nature and make government unnecessary, is a new system of economic distribution; and at this point it is necessary to supplement the *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* with several of a series of essays which were published by Godwin in 1797. In the one entitled *Riches and Poverty* the statement is made that because wealth is so unequally distributed the poor have no leisure. In this lack of leisure lies the greatest curse of poverty; and the only remedy for it is a more equitable system of distribution. For there is more than enough wealth for all, and if it as well as the labor of producing it were equally divided, and if there were at the same time a greater economy of resources and a more efficient direction of labor, it would be possible for every one by moderate exertion to obtain enough for plain living. In fact it would not be necessary, Godwin asserts at one place, for any one to give more than one tenth, or one twentieth perhaps, of the labor now given to the earning of a livelihood. The leisure which would be gained would be devoted to intellectual and moral improvement.

But Godwin is not content merely to dream of a "golden age" and refer to an uncertain future all forms of social improvement. In the essay on *Avarice and Profusion* he points out how under existing conditions, bad as they are, the rich may afford material relief to the poor. Instead of inventing

new luxuries and creating new wants, and then setting the poor new tasks in order that these luxuries may be provided and these wants satisfied, the rich must diminish the sum of human wants, practice plain living, and, most important of all, share the labor of the poor.

These are, however, only temporary devices, which, while they may hasten its establishment, will be cast aside as soon as Godwin's ideal society has been realized. In that society there will be neither rich nor poor for all will be equal. Property in the labor of others, or accumulated property of any sort, will not be tolerated. But Godwin does not stop with equality in material things. Complete equality of condition is the cornerstone of his social edifice. He is, however, an intense individualist. In this he clearly reflects the spirit of the French Revolution; and the equality which he advocates is, therefore, the equality of anarchism and not the equality of communism. Nowhere perhaps is anarchism of the individualist or philosophical type so logically and so consistently worked out in all its details as in Godwin's writings. And yet, despite his logic and the individualistic character of his anarchism, he cannot refrain from mixing with it certain communistic elements. This is evident in his treatment of the sex relations. Marriage he denounces as the worst of all laws, a veritable slavery, which is no more consistent with the principle of individual liberty than is property in the labor of others. This he follows to its logical consequences, and like Plato he does not shrink from a community of wives and children. There is no family life, therefore, in Godwin's utopia; natural relationship has no claim on man; gratitude to parents is no part of justice or virtue.

Unlike many utopians Godwin recognizes that there are real difficulties in the way of his scheme, and that because of these difficulties the existing social order is not to be violently uprooted. But having made this admission he proceeds at once to rob it of much of its virtue by his contention that these difficulties are less serious than those involved in maintaining the

existing regime. He attempts to meet the various objections which have presented themselves to his own mind or which have been raised by others. But his manner of answering them stamps him at once as a visionary rather than a logical thinker. Thus in answer to the objection made by Malthus and his school that his scheme of the relations of the sexes and the equal distribution of the social income would remove all checks to the growth of population he has nothing better to offer than the vague generality that "mind will one day become omnipotent over matter."

Godwin is comparatively unknown to the present generation but the influence of his writings over English thought is not easily overestimated. His opinions are admitted to have created in large part the English radicalism of the early decades of the nineteenth century and to have led to the milder liberalism of to-day. Among those who were strongly influenced by his views may be mentioned the poet Shelley, who married Godwin's daughter and whose social philosophy, largely borrowed from Godwin, is embodied in his *Revolt of Islam, Queen Mab, Hellas, Prometheus Unbound* and several shorter poems.

Godwin's utopia of anarchism marks one direction taken by the wide-spread but vague impulse towards a new social order, which was stirred into new life and energy by the outbreak of the French Revolution. But the path which it travelled most commonly, the path which was taken by the great body of the social utopias of the first half of the nineteenth century, was the one which led to communism and socialism. From the utopias of the second half of the eighteenth century those of the first half of the nineteenth are sharply distinguished in two important respects. The second half of the eighteenth century was an era of revolution in which men were everywhere blindly striving for individual liberty with little knowledge of the means by which it was to be attained and little regard to the dangers of a liberty unrestrained by law. Characteristic of this struggle for liberty are the economic teachings of Adam

Smith, the Rousseauan philosophy of a return to a state of nature, and the brutal negations of the French Revolution. In striking contrast with this unbridled individualism, which is clearly reflected in the utopias of the second half of the eighteenth century, those of the first half of the nineteenth have for their chief aim the limiting of free contract, free competition and individual liberty, in the interest of the common good; so that liberty and law, authority and popular sovereignty, may be held in balance. But this balance was rarely if ever maintained. In practice the pendulum was carried to the other side, and almost invariably the individualistic principle was completely suppressed through an excessive centralization of authority.

The second difference between the utopias of the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth is that the former were social and political in character, while the latter were predominantly industrial, since they were the children, not only of the French Revolution, but of the Industrial Revolution as well, which worked itself out in England towards the close of the eighteenth century, and which has so completely transformed both the social order and the social philosophy of the civilized world. The earliest example of this socialized and industrialized utopianism is to be seen in the writings of St. Simon.

Claude Henri Comte de Saint Simon (1760–1825) was a French nobleman whose family boasted a descent from Charlemagne. But despite his noble origin and rank he manifested at an early age an intense sympathy with the poor and oppressed. His hatred of oppression brought him at the age of nineteen to America to assist the Colonies in their struggle for independence. He fought under Washington, and at the siege of Yorktown he distinguished himself for bravery. Returning to France at the close of the war he engaged in military and scientific pursuits, although his sympathies with the masses did not permit him to be indifferent to the momentous events which preceded the Revolution. When the storm broke he

took the popular side, notwithstanding his family traditions, and promptly renounced his title of count on the ground that it was inferior to that of citizen. But he does not appear to have taken an active part in the Revolution. It is true, he held for a time the office of president of his commune to which he was elected by the revolutionists in 1789. But he declined other offices for fear it should be thought that he owed them to his former rank.

But with all his sympathy with the poor, and with all the need of constructive social effort discovered by the Revolution, it was not until he was past middle life that St. Simon became interested in the improvement of social conditions. After the Revolution he had devoted himself anew to scientific studies, particularly to physiology and the physical sciences. Among the various scientific projects which had engaged his attention from time to time was the construction of a canal from Madrid to the sea, and another to unite the Atlantic and Pacific. It was from St. Simon that De Lesseps, who was for a time identified with his school, mainly drew his inspiration to build the Suez Canal. Another of St. Simon's schemes was the construction of a science of the sciences; and it was from him, again, that his pupil Comte first derived the idea of a universal science which he finally worked out in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive.*

From all this St. Simon appears to have been suddenly awakened about the age of forty-three by a growing consciousness of the utter insufficiency of all scientific effort for the improvement of humanity without a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the social order. And it was not until fourteen years later that he first published his views in a work which he called *L'Industrie* (1817). The opinions expressed in that work he elaborated from time to time in four others, viz., *L'Organisateur* (1819), *Du Système Industriel* (1821), *Catechisme des Industriels* (1823), and *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825).

St. Simon's scheme of social reconstruction has been de-

scribed as "a dream of a medieval theocracy on the basis of pantheism, in which every detail of public and private life is absolutely regulated by one man who is at the same time prince, pontiff and infallible arbiter of the works of human thought." Its two great key-words are organization and industry. Industry is the supreme end for which society exists; organization is St. Simon's means of attaining that end. "The whole of society," he says, "ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class and organize itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end." According to his philosophy of history the old order of things in which the main business of society is war has passed away. Society is no longer to be governed by warrior and feudal lord inspired by selfish interests, but by captains of industry who will rule society for the common good. This substitution of an industrial for a militant regime, which is also a cardinal feature of Spencer's social philosophy, marks a distinct advance in political thought.

The substitution of industry for war as the main business of a normal society requires, according to St. Simon, an organization of society along entirely new lines. Hence running through all his writings there is a fixed purpose to discover an authority that shall rule the whole life of man. Such an authority he recognizes in the Catholic Church up to the fifteenth century. But since that time it has failed to embody in itself the advances of science, and has in consequence lost its hold on men and ceased to mold their lives. Equally unfit for leadership under the new order of things are the idle and privileged classes, whose power, though greatly shaken by the Revolution, has materially revived since Waterloo. Standing for a regime of war and self-interest they are out of place in that new industrial world which has arisen since the close of the eighteenth century. In such a world they are parasites who no longer have any useful function to perform for society. It follows from all this that if the proper ends of society are to be realized both the feudal and the ecclesiastical powers, by which

society was formerly ruled, must be replaced by the leaders in science and industry, who, instead of exploiting the labor of others, will rule society for the common good.

These leaders in science and industry will have two main functions, both flowing out of the industrial character of St. Simon's society. The first is to guarantee universal peace, much as the Catholic Church did in former times when it exercised judgment over the nations and imposed wholesome restraints on kings and princes, and thus lessened the number of wars. Modern peace sentiment owes more to St. Simon than it knows. The other main function of these industrial and scientific chiefs is to establish the principle of universal association, by means of which work shall be guaranteed to all and rewarded according to the principles of justice.

St. Simon's government is based on the principle that those best fitted to organize society for productive labor are entitled to bear rule in it. This principle requires a form of government wholly unlike any that has ever been tried. As first outlined by St. Simon it includes three chambers, one of Invention, another of Examination, and a third of Administration. The first two are composed of engineers, savants, artists and men of letters. The third, consisting of capitalists, financiers and bankers, is vested with an exclusive authority over questions of taxation and expenditure. It also exercises all other forms of the temporal authority, subject, however, to the advice of the other two chambers. The spiritual power is vested absolutely in the savants, artists and men of letters, who thus take the place of the medieval Church. This is St. Simon's scheme of government as it is sketched in *L'Organisateur.* But in a later work, *Du Système Industriel,* it is materially changed. Not only are the savants, artists and men of letters deprived of all temporal authority, which is now entrusted absolutely to the capitalist class, but their spiritual authority is also taken from them and given to positive philosophers, as in the later scheme of Comte. How this aristocracy of personal merit, which is to direct the government, industry, morals,

religion, and everything else, is to be selected St. Simon leaves undetermined. But he appears to think that the best and wisest will be spontaneously and harmoniously selected through popular suffrage.

On the industrial side of his scheme St. Simon favors a system of distribution which will render to each one the just fruits of his own individual efforts. Reduced to more definite terms this means that each one's share of the social income is measured by his services to society, the value of such services to be determined by the government. This principle of distribution, St. Simon maintains, is grounded in nature, for men are by nature unequal, and it is altogether just, therefore, to reward superior power and talent when exerted for the common good. It is the principle which governs when a man works alone; and it should govern also when he works in association with others. A system in which all are rewarded equally, without regard to talent or industry, would involve even greater injustice than the present economic order. In all this St. Simon's system of distribution differs fundamentally from the great majority of utopias ancient and modern which would divide the social income either equally or according to need; and in his emphasis on merit and service as the only just basis of distribution he marks at the same time a sharp reaction from the crass equality which was so characteristic of the philosophy of the French Revolution.

Production is minutely ordered. Each trade and profession has its fixed place in the social hierarchy. Work is guaranteed to all and every one is required to do some kind of labor. Idlers are not tolerated for they only consume what others produce and make no return; and to support them would violate the fundamental principle that recompense is in proportion to service. Labor is assigned like a soldier's rank in a regiment by the will of an absolute authority, and every laborer is required to labor according to his capacity. This comparison between civil and military life is frequently employed by St. Simon whose dream it is to organize, not production merely,

but civil society generally, like an army. "In the army," writes one of his disciples, "gradations in rank and authority are already established, while in civil life that is precisely what is wanting; and in an enterprise conducted upon the principle of association a central administration is imperiously required."

It has been seen that in St. Simon's government the supreme power is vested, not in a body of warriors and feudal lords, as was formerly the case, but in the leaders of industry. In his later writings, however, he begins to lose faith in his work and recognizes that something more is needed to secure the well-being of the masses than a mere shifting of power from one class to another. More and more clearly does he see that his industrial order cannot be maintained, nor the proper ends of society be realized, without a new morality.

But more imperative even than the need of a new morality is the need of a new religion. In his earlier writings St. Simon makes little of religion. It is only towards the end of his life that he realizes its supreme importance in the social economy. No society, he declares, can live, much less be reformed, without religion. He combats the idea that every religious system will disappear in time simply because men have succeeded in proving the weakness and insufficiency of Catholicism. Religion cannot disappear from the world; it can only be changed. The immediate bearing of religion on the social order for St. Simon is that it makes men regard each other as brothers and coöperate for their mutual happiness. This requires that the temporal power be entrusted to "men useful, laborious and pacific" and the spiritual power to men possessing the necessary knowledge. As long as these two powers continue to be entrusted to warriors and theologians the principles of fraternity and mutual love cannot be realized; for wars and theological dogmas have been the chief causes of hate among men. In his last and most important work St. Simon starts from a belief in God and in Jesus Christ as the one specially commissioned by God to teach men the way of life. Then he proceeds to reduce religion to its simple and essential

elements and restore to the world the Christian faith and life of primitive times, which, as he contends, has been perverted and lost by both Protestants and Catholics. In this restored and purified Christianity consists St. Simon's "New Christianity," in which "all morality will be derived from this principle: Men ought to regard each other as brothers. This principle which belongs to primitive Christianity will receive a glorification and in its new form will read: Religion must aid society in its chief purpose which is the most rapid improvement in the lot of the poor." It is thus that the social question becomes in its final analysis in the hands of St. Simon the question of religion; and it was the decided religious bent of his later teachings that occasioned his final quarrel with his most distinguished pupil, Auguste Comte.

St. Simon is frequently called the father of modern socialism. But so far there is little to suggest socialism beyond the proposal that society ought to guarantee work to all. Then there is another principle, which, while it would be accepted with limitations by those who are not socialists, is quite in harmony with the general spirit of socialism. The only difference between socialists and moderate individualists would be one of degree. According to this second principle the present economic order is anarchical, and the individual rights on which it is based, personal liberty, property, inheritance and competition, should, therefore, be subordinated to social utility. But on the other side there are also a number of points on which St. Simon entertains views quite at variance with the teachings of socialism, as that term is to-day generally understood. Thus the passion for equality, which is so characteristic of socialism, has no place in his dreams. His government is an aristocracy, an aristocracy of personal merit, it is true, but an aristocracy nevertheless. Perhaps plutocracy would be a better name for it; but whatever it is, it is not the democracy of socialism, for nothing could well be more incompatible with its spirit and aims than the rule of capitalists, financiers and captains of industry both in government and in industry.

Furthermore, while his ideal society is ordered primarily in the interest of the poor, the mutual antagonism between labor and capital, which bulks so large in the philosophy of socialism, does not appear to have presented itself to St. Simon's mind. In fact it could hardly have been forseen, and certainly it could not have been fully understood, at the stage of the Industrial Revolution in which he lived and wrote. Instead of regarding the capitalist as the natural foe of the laborer St. Simon makes him the general benefactor and the special patron and protector of the laborer. Then again the emphasis which he placed on education, morality and religion is more or less foreign to the spirit of socialism, particularly to that form of it which looks to revolution to realize its ends. His scheme is not revolutionary in the customary sense of that term. That he did not advocate social and political revolt may be seen from his stirring appeal to Louis XVIII to establish the new order of things by royal edict. Again and again he protests against revolution. Reform must be brought about, he declares, not by violence, but by public opinion, which is to be enlightened by the printed and spoken word, by a system of education that is moral and religious as well as intellectual. He had as little sympathy with the destructive liberalism of the French Revolution as he had with its excessive individualism and crass equality.

The fact of the matter is that St. Simon did not start out to be a socialist. Whatever socialism there is in his scheme has a two-fold origin. It is first a gradual growth, the fruit of his growing sympathy with the poor. His writings if arranged in chronological order will be found to exhibit a constantly enlarging interest in the poor until in his final work the improvement of their lot becomes the central point of his teaching and even takes the form of a religion.

But the main source of St. Simon's socialism is to be found, not in what he wrote or said himself, but in the interpretations put upon his teachings by his followers. That his teachings needed interpretation hardly any one will be disposed to deny. His most striking quality of mind was an exuberant imagina-

tion; and his speculations, while bold and original and frequently ingenious, lacked definiteness and logical consistency. He was not a logical thinker or a trained scientist but a visionary, a poet, an artist in social construction; "and if right ideas, or the suggestions of right ideas, sometimes came into his head about history, about human progress, about a stable polity, such ideas were not the products of trains of ordered reasoning; they were the intuitional glimpses of the poet, and consequently . . . even the right ideas were as often as not accompanied by wrong ones.

In the hands of his interpreters St. Simon's ideas whether right or wrong soon came to have a new meaning and significance. For they were developed in a way, which, while logical enough for the most part, frequently led to consequences which had never presented themselves to his mind, to consequences sometimes which in all probability he would not have accepted. It is not easy, or important perhaps, to make a sharp distinction between the views of St. Simon and those of his school. But it is important to know that he can be called the father of modern socialism only because his teachings were the germ, and the germ only, which was developed by his followers into the full-blown flower of state socialism.

The character of this development is best seen in Bazard, who after the death of St. Simon divided with Enfantin the leadership of the school, and who did more than any other to give system and logical consistency to his master's teachings. As interpreted then by Bazard St. Simonism is based on a philosophy of history which recognizes two kinds of epochs, one critical or negative and the other organic or constructive. The former is ruled by philosophy and its animating spirit is the spirit of war, antagonism and anarchy. The other, ruled by religion, is characterized by the spirit of obedience, devotion and association. These two opposing principles are the two great social forces; and on their relative strength depends the general character of a period. In modern times the principle of association tends more and more to prevail over the prin-

ciple of antagonism; it tends also to spread from the family to the city, the nation and the federation. In the future social life and growth will be entirely governed by the principle of association. The most fundamental characteristic of social life in the past has been the exploitation of man by man in its three stages of slavery, serfdom and the wage system. In the future the supreme aim of society will be the exploitation of the globe by man associated with man. The great evil of the present order of things is that the employer exploits the laborer, who, though nominally free, is compelled to take whatever the employer is willing to give—and the amount is never much above the means of bare existence—under penalty of starvation if he refuses. The consequence is that the few though living in idleness are surfeited with luxury, while for the great mass the severest toil is not sufficient to secure the comforts or even the necessities of life. Both the advantages and the disadvantages of this state of things are cumulative, for they are transmitted from one generation to another through inheritance without regard to capacity or merit. Hence misery and well-being are alike hereditary. This is both a social and a moral evil, as well as the source of all other evils, and the only remedy, the only possible way of enforcing St. Simon's principle of distribution that service measures the reward, is the abolition of the principle of inheritance. By this device the followers of St. Simon professed to complete the work of the French Revolution which had abolished the privileges of birth only in the political sphere, and not in the economic, as they now proposed to do. But the abolition of the principle of inheritance was much more than the completion of the work of the French Revolution. It was the great seed-principle of modern socialism from which have been developed by logical process all its essential features; and it is mainly at this point that the interpreters have advanced beyond the position of the master, who, while he clearly saw the evils of the present social order, failed to point out the proper remedy. The drastic character of the remedy may be seen by tracing out its

consequences. With the abolition of inheritance the right of succession is transferred from the family to the state, so that each one's property at death is added to the common fund. It follows from this that the state must gradually come into possession of all the means of production. The next step, for state ownership of the means of production requires state organization of production, is the assumption of all industrial activities by the state. And this requires in turn the distribution of the product of industry among the workers by the agents of the state.

It is evident from all this that the ideal of St. Simonism differs in no essential particular from modern socialism, whether on its constructive or on its destructive side. We have here as in socialism state ownership of the means of production, state organization of production, and state distribution of the social income—cardinal points of constructive socialism. On the negative or critical side we have further the three stages of economic development, slavery, serfdom and the wage system; also the evils inseparable from the present competitive regime, as commercial crises, the incessant efforts of business rivals to ruin each other, the ill adaptation of production to consumption, the uncertainty of work for the laborer, and the iron law of wages. In fact modern socialism has advanced hardly a single step beyond the philosophy of St. Simonism. This does not mean that there are no differences. The economic and historical argument of Max, for example, which seeks to prove that capital is a robbery of the working classes, has no place in St. Simonism; while on the other hand the recognition by St. Simonism of the necessity of a moral and religious change to go with the industrial transformation has no place in the philosophy of socialism. There are differences but they can hardly be called essential.

Apart from his influence on socialism St. Simon has influenced modern thought in several other ways, ways which while more direct perhaps are less important. His writings attracted little attention at first. But towards the close of his

life he succeeded in attracting to himself a small body of enthusiastic disciples, who after his death devoted themselves to the task of expounding and propagating his views. But it was only after a long course of lectures by Bazard at Paris in 1828 that St. Simonism first became popular. This was followed by similar efforts elsewhere. Missions were established in all parts of France, as well as in Belgium and Algeria. The ferment caused by the revolution of 1830 had the effect of bringing the movement still more prominently before the people of France. The joint effect of propaganda and revolution was a large increase in numbers and influence. The new accessions included well known authors, teachers, engineers, political economists, philanthropists, as well as lawyers, bankers and merchants. For a time the movement embraced some of the ablest and most promising young men of France, among them many of the students of the celebrated *Ecole Polytechnique* at Paris who under the influence of the events of the day had caught the enthusiasm of the propagandists.

Not content merely to expound and propagate, these enthusiasts undertook also to put the principles of St. Simon into practice. The result was the organization of a society which was arranged in three grades and whose members lived together as one family. But this did not last long. Bazard and Enfantin, the joint leaders of the society, could not get along together owing to the latter's lax views on marriage and persistent attempts to set up a fantastic sacerdotalism. Enfantin delighted in fantastic dress, solemn processions and imposing ceremonies, all of which he attempted to weave into the social and religious life of the community. He also believed in the correctness of the impulses of the flesh, and it was this which led him to advocate first divorce and then free-love. On both points Bazard, who was a man of more solid and logical temperament, opposed Enfantin; and with him in his opposition stood the larger part of the membership. That he rather than Enfantin correctly interpreted their common master is beyond question. For St. Simon religion was a system of

morals, a rule of conduct, rather than a mystical ceremonialism. He was also a firm believer in monogamy; and up to this time his followers had invariably maintained in their official declarations the sanctity of the Christian law of marriage, holding, not only that one man should be united to one woman, but that the wife should be the equal of the husband and that "in accordance with the particular grace given to her sex by God she ought to be associated with him in the triple function of temple, state and family, in such a manner that the social individual which has hitherto been man alone should hereafter be man and woman."

With the failure of Bazard and Enfantin to compose their differences on the question of marriage the former with many others withdrew in 1831. A remnant removed to Menilmontant where under the leadership of Enfantin, whose idiosyncrocies had free play now, they set up a fantastic religious ritual and practised free-love, communism and a severe asceticism. To signalize their withdrawal from the world they wore a peculiar dress which included a waistcoat so contrived that no one could put it on or take it off unassisted. The purpose of its design was to symbolize the dependence of man on his fellows.

The practices of the society soon attracted the attention of the authorities. The leaders were tried and condemned for acts prejudicial to social order. This broke up the society in 1832, and with its dissolution St. Simonism ceased to exist as an organized movement. It is worthy of note, because it throws light on the quality of those who were attracted by the teachings of St. Simon, that many afterwards became distinguished as engineers, scientists, political economists and financiers. Several took part as engineers in the construction of the Suez Canal which had its inception in the school of St. Simon. The reason why the St. Simonians took such a peculiar interest in engineering projects and in scientific questions generally is to be found in the principle so constantly emphasized by St. Simon that all labor for the advancement of humanity is sacred.

For him religion is industry and industry is religion. His religion was a thing of this world. He taught that the flesh is not necessarily sinful, that this life is not a mere preparation for another, that flesh and spirit both have their rights, and that only in their harmonious union and development can the perfect man be found. In his scheme of things asceticism had no place.

St. Simon influenced modern thought again by teaching certain principles, which, while not originated by him, have been materially advanced by his support. The improvement of the lot of the poor as a legitimate and worthy form of state activity, the fundamental importance of morality and religion in any scheme of social betterment, the doctrine of the dignity and sacredness of labor, the principle of universal peace, reverence for woman—each owes much to him.

A final way in which St. Simon influenced modern thought is to be found in the fact that he suggested much that was afterwards elaborated into Comtism.

LANCASTER, PA.

IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

New Testament Theology. By Henry C. Sheldon, Professor in Boston University. Cloth. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1911. Pages 364. Price $1.50 net.

The six chapters comprising the contents of this excellent treatise on the subject discussed add new luster to the fame won by Professor Sheldon by his earlier contributions to the theological literature. His broad scholarship and thorough acquaintance with New Testoment problems, the clearness with which he grasps and sets forth the differing views of various writers and schools of thought, and the keen discrimination with which he weighs the contentions of others before expressing his own conclusions and defining his personal position, combine to make the present volume unusually helpful and satisfactory. So far as our knowledge goes, there is no hand-book in the English language whose value for the student and minister in arrangement and contents can be favorably compared to this. The "Synoptic Problem," the Pauline Theology, and that of the Johanine writings, are illuminatingly discussed, and whilst radical theories are fairly and fully surveyed, conservative positions are generally successfully maintained. We take pleasure in commending the volume to the ministry of our Church as well worthy of studious attention.

A. S. Weber.

Man's Tomorrow. By William W. Kinsley. Cloth. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Pages 190. Price $1.25 net.

The writer of this book is not afraid as to the final outcome of the fearless spirit which is abroad to-day in every department of human thought. He recognizes the formidable difficulties that are encountered by such inquiry when examining the foundations of theistic faith and of man's immortality, in the light of the evolutionary hypothesis. He has threaded his own way "through the narrows and amid the hidden rocks of doubt and unbelief," and although compelled to accept Evolution as the method of God's working, he is now "enabled to sail out into the open sea of a reassured faith in an endless life prophesied and provided for by a distinctively personal, and infinitely loving God." To lend his assistance to others, distressed in faith by modern perplexities, and in search after satisfying and tenable conclusions, particularly on these two points, namely, of God as a living and loving personality, and of man as destined to immortality, he has written these

arresting and luminous and thoroughly rewarding pages. Those interested in Evolution in its bearings on the problems of Theism and Immortality, one feels sure, will be grateful to Mr. Kinsley for having written this volume, and to the publishers for having given it to the public in so attractive and admirable a form. The book deserves the widest possible circulation among and study by the clergy and laity of the churches.

A. S. WEBER.

SEEKERS AFTER SOUL. By Kohn O. Knott, Ph.D. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 208. Price $1.20 net.

Dr. Knott stresses in these pages the salient doctrines of some of the men who, in his estimation, have most deeply influenced the world's thought by championing Soul as against Matter. Job. in his first chapter, is held aloft as "the soul's pathfinder"; Plato, in the second, is valued on account of his "intimations of immortality"; Kant, in the third, is praised for "the protest against materialism" which his philosophical system so successfully accentuates; Hegel, in the fourth, is honored as the apostle of "Theistic Evolution"; and Robert Browning, in the last is represented as "the subtle assertor of the soul." All these chapters, together with the additional one the book contains on "Persistence of Ideas, the Spirit in the Trend of Thought," justify the purpose of the book which, as stated by the author, is to be "suggestive rather than dogmatic" on the great subjects touched upon in the course of his observations. Although dealing with abstruse questions, his style is lucid, his argumentation clear, and his insight penetrating, while his power of analysis is as keen as his spirit is admirable. One lays down the book with a sense of real indebtedness to the author for his stimulating and refreshing discussions of important and engaging topics. One is glad to own the book for future reference.

A. S. WEBER.

THE ETERNAL RIDDLE. By John Wirt Dunning. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 241. Price $1.20 net.

Sixteen carefully wrought-out sermons, abundantly illustrated and enriched by quotations from ancient and modern poets, are here brought together. They are discourses that effectively combine academic and practical qualities. They were probably preached by the author to an intellectual congregation in the course of his regular pulpit ministrations, and if so, must have afforded his hearers at once mental stimulus and instruction, and religious helpfulness. "Man is the eternal riddle," according to the first sermon, which furnishes him the title for his book. Immortality, the rationality of prayer, the Bible, the problem of suffering, the signs of a Christian, sin and salvation, are some of

the topics of other sermons. The treatment of the topics is along original, captivating homiletical lines, the preacher's theological attitude is conservatively modern, and his purpose evidently inspirational and constructive. The contents of the volume, suggestive and informing, thoughtful and reverent, as is its pervading atmosphere, may be profitably read by young preachers.

A. S. WEBER.

THE BEGINNING OF THINGS IN NATURE AND GRACE. By Joseph K. Wight. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 188. Price $1.20 net.

The sub-title to this volume informs us that it is "a brief commentary on Genesis." Its contents fall into two parts. The first discusses the beginning of things in nature,—creation, the creation of man, the unity of mankind, Eden and the "Fall," Cain and Abel, chronology, the flood, the ethnological record, and the confusion of tongues. The second considers the beginning of things in grace,—grace with respect to individuals, the calling of Abraham, Jacob on the position of prayer, Joseph, or the exaltation and triumph of religion in the individual, marriage, the family, the training of children, and the beginning of grace in the nation. The author is careful to inform his readers in advance that he proceeds upon the assumption that the Bible, instead of being simply a human production among other human productions, is an exceptional revelation of God, a pure, true and safe guide in all its purposes to teach, and given to man as God's way of salvation from sin and death. The author has written learnedly, and, whether readers can or can not agree with all his contentions and accept all his conclusions, his book merits careful study.

A. S. WEBER.

THE FUTURE CITIZEN. By F. A. Myers. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 190. Price $1.20 net.

The important subject of boy-training for future citizenship in our country in its various aspects and methods, is earnestly and forcefully set forth by an expert in the present volume. The comprehensiveness with which the book goes into the problem may be partially inferred from the headings of some of the chapters: Heredity, marriage, race-suicide, cost of the child, education, parental mistakes, home influences, why boys go wrong, juvenile crime, remedial efforts, child-labor, the American spirit. the city problem, and the Church in its relation to the boy,—these are some of the more important topics discussed. Parents, teachers, and pastors will find not a little under every one of these topics to arrest attention, and to impress them with the seriousness of the present-day situation of tens of thousands of

boys in our land. The suggestions offered as regards means and methods for averting parental disappointment and calamity as regards their boys, and for leading them to personal godliness of character, to honorable membership in the home, to useful citizenship in the state, and to serviceable fellowship in the Church—these are all worth laying to heart. Mr. Myers has put the public under large obligations by writing this valuable little book, which, for the home reading-table and for the shelves of Sunday-school libraries, is worth more than hundreds of the ordinary trashy story-books, which too generally are allowed to fall into the hands of young readers. The friends of boys will do them a lasting kindness by recommending them to read these important warnings and helpful counsels.

A. S. Weber.

The Volitional Element in Knowledge and Belief. By Delo Corydon Grover. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 168. Price $1.20 net.

As is suggested by the title of this treatise, it has to do with the same interesting subject to which several other recently published and widely read books are devoted. I refer to Professor James's *The Will to Believe,* Professor Bowne's *Theory of Thought and Knowledge,* and Miss Ward's *The Wish to Believe.* Those who have read these volumes, especially those who have read them and found difficulties in their contentions hard to accept or master, will cordially welcome the illuminating criticisms and corrections advanced by Professor Grover. The looseness of intellectual procedure on the part of Pragmatism is given some telling thrusts in the course of these philosophical discussions. The will must be employed, our author grants, in order to believe, but the will must be an enlightened one, making its choices rationally and logically. Otherwise the Pragmatic theory now in vogue, which correctly understood and rightly employed is nothing more or less than the philosophical statement of the truth that those that do the will of God shall know the doctrine of Christ, will open the way to ridiculous excesses and harmful abuses. The present writer believes with President McConnell, of Du Pauw University, who writes an introduction to this book, that these essays "should be widely read, especially among ministers," and that those who do give them studious attention "will not only get thorough and solid instruction, but gain an impulse toward that intelligent and critical thoughtfulness without which spiritual zeal can not accomplish the best results." The book is worth its price many times over to every minister.

A. S. Weber.

KEY-NOTES OF OPTIMISM. By Calvin Weiss Laufer, A.M. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 152. Price $1.00 net.

"Inspiration, sunlight and cheer," the author of these brief essays, thirty in number, says, it is distinctly his purpose to afford his readers. They cover a wide range of subjects pertaining to various phases of morals and religion, without disclosing any definite underlying or connecting principle as to their selection or arrangement. The essays are delightful reading, and the brief prayer found at the conclusion of each of them adds to their value for devotional purposes.

A. S. WEBER.

THE DILEMMA OF THE MODERN CHRISTIAN. By Edward H. Eppens. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 181. Price $1.20 net.

What is the "dilemma" referred to in this title? The answer is implied in a sentence or two on the initial page of the book. "In theology one of the many binary systems of thought is repesented by the terms Jesus and God. The two extremes express themselves in the opposite statements that theology is the science of God, and that our theology must be christo-centric." Writing from a Unitarian view-point, the author wishes his readers to understand that the choice of theology must be made between the two opposing statements—that logical consistency forbids it to hold on to both. To his mind Theology is one thing, Christology is another thing. In other words, the argument underlying his thought is that as theology is the science of *God,* it is a contradiction in terms to say that it centers in Christ, a *man.* If anyone desires to know what Unitarianism at its best has to say in defense of this position, he may find it set forth with distinguished ability in these pages. They show the author to possess a combination of native talent and learned attainment, rarely met with and vigorous to an unusual degree. His biblical and theological, historical and literary, critical and constructive, scholarship is ample, and adequate for the presentation of his claims, whilst in religious spirit and sincere reverence for Jesus, he often reminds one of William E. Channing's close approximation to the orthodox conception of Christ's Deity. At the same time, however, he leaves no one in doubt as to his real theological attitude. He insists that with the modern interests in life, has come a readjustment of some of the claims of the Christian religion. To-day the world appears under a different aspect. In this world we see something of God. "All the indications are that God is not far from each one of us, that we all have our being in Him. It is God in nature, in man, in Jesus Christ, whom man worships. In Jesus dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily—the compulsion is upon the Christian mind to acknowledge his su-

premacy, if not in all the minor interests of life, in the large matters of the soul's religion." Without a careful examination, such an utterance might be almost regarded as sufficiently sound to satisfy a committee on examination and licensure of theological students as candidates for the Christian ministry. The book abounds in such utterances, yet it is heretical. One is reminded in putting it aside, however, of what the late Henry Drummond used to insist on, namely, that one often learns most from writers with whom one agrees least!

A. S. WEBER.

ST. LUKE'S GARDEN. By Albert S. Steward. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Cloth. Pages 124. Price $1.00.

Upwards of thirty charming essays on out-door life, rural scenery and experiences, suited to leisure hours during a summer vacation, are collected in this book, beautifully gotten out by the publishers.

A. S. WEBER.

FLOWERS FROM THE WAYSIDE. By Warren R. Fitch. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French and Co. Illuminated boards. Pages 62. Price $1.00 net.

A book of verse by an author endowed with a true poetic spirit. The three poems on Easter are as lofty in conception as they are perfect in execution. They would do credit to an English laureate. The book is well adapted as a presentation volume to a child or friend.

A. S. WEBER.

TRUTH IN RELIGION, STUDIES IN THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY. By Dugald Macfadyen, M.A. London and New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages xiv + 303. Price $1.50 net.

Not very long ago a sharp distinction was made between true religion and false religion, one form being regarded as true and all others as absolutely false. The comparative study of religion, and the application of the historical method of investigation, have changed the aspect of things, and religion is now regarded as a universal phenomenon, an essential characteristic of humanity, based on a relation between God and man which involves a twofold movement, an outgoing of each toward the other in a seeking for fellowship and communion. This involves revelation and inspiration on the one side, and growing knowledge and experience on the other, differing in degree and kind, and yet real, and in a measure effective, in the historical development of mankind universally. Like every other aspect of human life, religion is thus subject to historical study, and such study, in the nature of the case, makes valuable contribution to our knowledge of the essence of religion in general, and the preëminence of Christianity in particular.

In the book before us the author first treats of religion in general, that is to say he traces the action of the consciousness of God in the race, and tries to show that the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ are a final answer to the perennial questions which the human spirit asks about life in its relation to God. He comes to the conclusion that the universality and potency of religion finds its best explanation in the declaration of our Lord that the world is really a Kingdom of God, and that in spite of all blunders and sins, God has been guiding men in all ages into a knowledge of himself that is to be full, adequate and authoritative for all the purposes of life. In the second section he deals exclusively with the place and function which religion assigns to Jesus Christ, and points out that we must bring to the Person and Life of Christ the postulates which belong to the history of religion. From no other point of view can Jesus Christ be understood. "Man is a being in whom the consciousness of God is a fact, in whose history that consciousness is a supreme factor, a being to whom sin is a reality, and in whose experience the knowledge of a Redeemer, and the experience of an upholding and perfecting Divine Life is one of life's chief necessities."

The application of the historical method to the study of religion has been of great value. New facts have come to light; the touch of nature which makes the world's religions kin has thrown into solitary and splendid eminence the unique function of the Christian religion as the sole historic channel that has brought to the race the experience of a Redeeming God; the relations between history and faith have been modified; the place of dogma in Christianity is secure but secondary; and religion itself is larger, more true, more wonderful than any analysis of its contents has ever shown it to be. These points are discussed by the author with a fulness and clearness that rises at times into eloquence and the treatment of the subject is at all times illuminating and helpful.

The facts of religion are next taken up and stress is laid on the various factors which enter into them. The religious consciousness is, of course, of paramount importance, and the author finds an element of merit in Ritchlianism because it emphasises this factor. Personality, however, is broader and deeper than consciousness, and there are realms, outlying realms of the soul, through which influences enter human life which can not be analyzed or laid open to the gaze of every-day experience, and this fact makes room for the mystical elements of religion, for prophecy and inspiration. Religious personality with its background[1] thus becomes a factor of great significance, and the de-

[1] By this background is meant the mystic experience of God. The author says: "Religious experience is more vital, large, and true than any

velopment of all the classic religions is due to great personalities. Under this head the author estimates the value of Biblical criticism of which so much account is made at present, and he says we have a right to ask, whose criticism? "As a record of historical facts the Bible must be compared with other historical facts; as historical literature, with other historical literature. But as the literature of faith in God and of God's response to faith it is unique and solitary. No criticism is worth anything in this sphere which is not believing criticism. Anyone is welcome to deal with the records who comes not to destroy but to fulfill; an old interpretation may be set aside by a larger and better one; but we have no right to yield to mere negative criticism which owes no obligation to faith, and is not so much the criticism of the Bible as the destruction of the edifice of faith in God."

The theme of the third part of the book is: The gospel *is* Jesus Christ. This means first that the Christian religion arose from a historical person; secondly, that the historical person, Jesus Christ, is universal in His significance for the destiny of man; and thirdly, that the gospel is never itself when separated from Jesus Christ. In the unfolding of this theme, the author treats of the Incarnation, the Temptation, the Appeal of Jesus to man, the Transfiguration, the Cross, and the Victory. As the necessary corollary of these come the Deity of Christ, the Mediator, Healing for Human Need, and a Saved World. Special stress is laid on the fact that Christianity necessarily includes the Cult of a Redeemer and offers a Way of Salvation. These lead to the realization of the Kingdom of God and Christian Salvation as expressed by St. Paul's phrase "In Christ:" "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made me free from the law of sin and death." Space will not allow an extended criticism of the treatment given to these topics. In many cases, as for instance in the treatment of the cross, the method of approach is somewhat new. But the treatment is at every point suggestive and the book will bear careful study. JOHN S. STAHR.

ASPECTS OF ISLAM. By Duncan Black Macdonald, M.A., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in Hartford Theological Seminary. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages xvi + 375.

This book serves a twofold purpose. It is intended, first of all, to be helpful to the missionary or prospective missionary to the Mohammedan world in the present age. And as interest in

intellectual statement of it. A creed may be plain and clear, but there is always mystery in faith." In discussing the varieties of religious experience, he makes large reference to Starbuck and James, and in the notes he gives a number of examples of what he calls "the immediate experience of God."

this aspect of missionary labor is growing and claiming a large share of attention on the part of Christians of all denominations, it is not too much to say that Dr. Macdonald in giving to the public this volume which contains the substance of the Hartford-Lamson Lectures for 1909, has rendered the missionary cause an inestimate service, and put into the hands of the missionary a body of instruction and suggestion which will prove indispensable. Beyond this, however, the description of the nature, origin, development, present condition, and future prospects of Islam, is so sympathetic, penetrating, and true to nature, that it possesses also unusual interest for the general reader, the historian, and the theologian. The author not only speaks from long and intimate acquaintance with his subject, but he also shows by spirit and disposition he was eminently fitted to come into close touch with the Moslem world, and thus to have access to the inner spirit and working of Islam to an unusual degree. His motto is: "*The paradox in truth, of the missionary's life is that he must have a liking for his people and their queerest little ways even while he is trying to change them.*"

In the introduction the author shows what difficulties confront the stranger in approaching Islam, and describes in more or less detail the qualities which a missionary must possess to get on a footing with the Moslem people that will enable him to understand and influence them. In the first lecture he cautions the stranger especially against abruptness and airs of superiority, and insists that the only way to learn to know Islam is by patient, sympathetic study, and by laying stress first of all upon the great facts of religious unity between us and the Moslem world, and not upon the points of controversy and dispute. The great difficulty which the stranger, whether student or missionary or simply traveler, is what may be described as a conspiracy of misinformation. Eastern people have not, as Rosenkranz says, learned to speak the truth; and whether it be for the purpose of deceiving, or because the speaker thinks it does not matter and it is not worth while to go to the trouble of ascertaining the truth, or whether he does not distinguish between external reality and the product of the imagination, the information the stranger gets is generally misinformation, and it is only by the exercise of unlimited patience that any real insight into the life and thought of the people can be obtained.

The heart of Islam, of course, is the historical personage Mohammed. The two lectures which treat respectively of the life and character of Mohammed are exceedingly interesting and full of information of great value to every student of the Moslem world. So far as the first is concerned, the author does not hesitate to say that Mohammed had in him some of the elements both of a poet and a prophet; but that he can be wholly understood

only when we regard him *as a pathological case.* He was subject to trances and had visions; and, at heart in the earlier part of his career, he was sincere and honest. Even in the later part, the author thinks, he was not a conscious imposter, although it is evident that, to piece out his system of doctrine and polity, if system it may be called, he invented visions and communications to accomplish his specific purpose. The Koran (Qur′ān, our author writes) consists of very unequal material: the short, abrupt sentence of trance and vision, perhaps vaguely remembered afterward, and the longer and more intricate portions of composition, derived from current Arabic tradition, Old Testament history, portions of Christian history and doctrine which had found their way in Arabia, etc. The result is that there is great confusion in the chapters, and this has given Moslem scholars a great deal of difficulty. They have, however, applied the methods of Higher Criticism without let or hindrance.

As regards the Moslem attitude towards Mohammed, it may be said that it is felt by educated Moslems everywhere that the present condition of Islam is incompatible with the life of the modern world by which Islam is confronted on every side. Hence, on the part of some there is a pronounced cry, Go back to Mohammed. But this at once brings to view his personality and character, and these will not bear close scrutiny from the ethical point of view. We can say, Go back to Christ; for whatever may happen to the gospels, that person, that figure, will remain untouched. But no one who has studied the life of Mohammed can dream of any such immunity for him. Others say, Go back to the Koran. But that simply means, go back to the question of the historical Mohammed, and the end will be the same. The outcome will probably be that Moslems will take refuge in Mysticism and thus work out a nominal loyalty to an abstract Islam without minute inquiry into the details of the faith which they profess.

The subsequent lectures treat of Moslem theology and metaphysics, the mystical life and the Dervishes, the relation of Islam to the Scriptures, the missionary activity of the Moslems, their ideas on education, and a view of the inner side of Moslem life. It must suffice to say that the author furnishes authentic information on all these subjects and gives a picture of the Mohammedan world with its shortcomings and needs which constitutes a strong challenge to the Christian world to furnish the only safe solution of the perplexing problem of Islam as it is now confronted by an overwhelming onset of Western civilization.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE. Being an Outline of the History of the Church from A. D. 1003 to A. D. 1304. By D. J. Medley, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. New York, The Macmillan Co. Pages xii + 300.

The series of eight volumes to which this book belongs, is entitled, *The Church Universal.* The editor is the Rev. W. H. Hutton, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. According to the editorial note "the aim of the series, which each writer sets before him, is to tell clearly and accurately, the story of the Church as a divine institution with a continuous life."

This volume deals with what may be called the classic period of the Middle Ages, when the great institutions, doctrines, ordinances and usages of the Roman Catholic Church were wrought out by the popes, monks and schoolmen. The author was compelled to be brief on account of the space allowed him. Yet in the seventeen chapters he discusses in a most illuminating and concise way every important phase of the history of the Church—its relation to the state, the growth of the papacy, the schoolmen, the mendicants, heresies, doctrine and discipline, and the decline of the empire and the papacy. Telling quotations from the sources are interspersed through each chapter, and lend authority to the discussion.

The book has far more value than its size may indicate. It is peculiarly adapted to the understanding of the intelligent laymen. It is accurate, clear and well-poised. It is, also, an excellent compend for use in academies, colleges and theological seminaries, and will serve the minister and professor as a basis for rapid review and for orientation.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

EXPOSITIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. A Commentary on the Bible Complete in 32 volumes. By the Rev. Alexander Maclaren, D.D., Litt.D. Fifth series, eight volumes. New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son, 3 and 5 W. 18th St. Price $10.00.

This series completes the publication of the *Expositions of Holy Scriptures.* The eight volumes contain comments on the following books of the New Testament: (1) First and Second Corinthians; (2) Ephesians; (3) Galatians and Philippians; (4) Colossians to Timothy; (5) Timothy, Titus, Philemon; (6) Hebrews, James; (7) First and Second Peter, First John; (8) Second and Third John, Jude, Revelation. Evidently some of the most valuable expositions have been served last. The general character of this work—its felicitous style, its sound exegesis, its spiritual tone, its practical application to the individual and social needs of the modern man, and its incisive and illuminating statements—has already been alluded to in our notices of the volumes of the preceding four series. Rarely does an author maintain in all parts of so extensive a work the beauty of

diction and richness of content which are found in these 32 volumes. Nothing less than fifty years of patient toil could have accomplished so great a task in such an artistic form.

Following the plan of the earlier volumes, each book of the New Testament contained in this series is covered by an exposition of its most important passages. The expositions are based on a verse or a number of verses, sometimes as many as fifteen in one group. The topics which head the expositions are usually well phrased, suggestive, and would serve as themes for a sermon. The comments are equally useful for mid-week addresses and for Sunday-school instruction. They may also be used with profit for devotional and edificational reading by any one who may desire to read a book of this kind alongside of the Bible.

Dr. Maclaren's works will follow him. He has built for himself an imperishable monument. From its base flows a well of living water whose streams are for the healing of the nations. The faith which inspired him and the hope which lured him, are beautifully expressed in the last sentence of the last of the thirty-two volumes. "Nor will your supplies fail," he writes, "when death cuts off all that flow from earthly cisterns, for they who here drink of the river will hereafter go up to the Source, and 'they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, for the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them to living fountains of water, and God, the Lord shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.'" The author dipped deep into the river of life and distributed widely the invigorating draft. While he has ascended to the "Source," many will continue by the side of still waters to which they have been led by this faithful shepherd of souls.

The work as completed can be procured at the lowest price, each series separately, if desired, from the Reformed Church Publication Board, 15th and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

CROSCUP'S SYNCHRONIC CHART OF UNITED STATES HISTORY, WITH DIAGRAMS, MAPS AND STATISTICAL TABLES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. By George E. Croscup, B.A. New York, Windsor Publishing Company. Price $1.50 net.

This is a very handy book of reference for all who are interested in American history. The author characterizes his work as an attempt to make history visible. The most valuable and unique feature of the book is a large folding chart, which shows at a glance the entire history of the United States, recording each event so as to show its relation to every other event in time and locality. The history of each state can be traced in a moment to the territory from which it has developed. Its relation to the other states is distinctly shown. Contemporary events in European

history that have had direct bearing upon the new world are clearly marked. It shows one at a glance what was taking place in the different nations of Europe at any period of American history. This large chart prepared by Dr. Croscup is a very ingenious piece of work, built upon a practical idea.

There are also other minor charts in the book showing at a single view the development and interrelation of American political parties, the Tariff and its history, Territorial Expansion of the United States, etc. A number of smaller guide maps help greatly in diagraming American history step by step.

Another interesting feature is found in the statistical tables and graphic outlines on subjects like religious bodies in the United States, distribution of the principal denominations, immigration, national receipts and expenditures, and industrial diagrams giving the history of the development of the most important individual industries of our land.

The syllabus or chronological text covering the greater part of the book is a further attempt to carry out the author's central idea of making history a matter of visual impression. By the use of various styles of type to indicate different classes of events, facts of the same class,—*treaties* for instance—thrust themselves upon the eye in a moment. In separate sections there are little extra histories giving an outline on subjects like the history of slavery or the rise and fall of our political parties. In each of these sections you have the same elements of simplicity and visibility employed.

The practical value of this book as a work of reference is obvious. While not pretending to be a history in the accepted sense of the term, it furnishes the materials for a general study of American history in a way that combines completeness with condensation. It certainly is useful as a ready reference for teacher and student, and as such is widely endorsed by leading educators. The busy man of affairs too will find it a great time-saver, and the man whose memory for facts plays tricks on him will rise up and call the author of this graphic résumé blessed.

We understand that this is the first of a series of volumes along the same line intended to cover the history of different countries. We believe that they will prove to be of great service to schools, teachers and students in general. The mechanical structure of the book is of high grade, its scientific arrangement is clear, its facts are accurate. As an ingenious book of historic information we heartily recommend it to our readers.

H. M. J. K.

THE

REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

No. 4.—OCTOBER—1911.

FOREWORD.

We feel confident that the subscribers of the *Review* will not demand an apology of the editors for devoting one number to the publication of a complete index of the contents of all the volumes since 1849, the year of its foundation. On the contrary, we believe that they will join the editors in an expression of appreciation and gratitude to the Rev. Clayton H. Ranck, pastor of the Third Reformed Church, Baltimore, Maryland, for the comprehensive and accurate index which he has prepared for the use of the patrons of the *Review*. It was a task for which he has natural qualifications; but which required, none the less, an extraordinary amount of perseverance, a keen sense for details, and a rare genius for collating and systematizing the massive material of fifty-eight voiumes.

The compiler has grouped the contents under the following headings: 1. Index of Authors; 2. Index of Subjects of Articles and Editorials; 3. Index of Book Notices; 4. Index of Libraries having Files of the Review; 5. A Chronological Conspectus. It becomes evident, at a glance, that for the first time the wealth of material which appeared on the pages of the *Review* during the last sixty-two years, and which constitutes a library of theological, philosophical, and literary subjects, is now made easily accessible to the reader and can be utilized with little difficulty by the scholarly investigator. The rich, ripe thought of the leading scholars of the Reformed Church,

many of whom ranked second to none in American Protestantism, is thus saved from oblivion. One is suprised, as well as pleased, to find so many public libraries, at least forty-two in number, representing seventeen states of the Union, not to speak of Japan, having complete or nearly complete files of the *Review*. We are also reminded by the chronological conspectus that it is one of the oldest theological quarterlies in America, having continued under different names and editors, without a break, save the years between '61 and '67, from 1849 to the present time. In each period the *Review* has stood for liberal scholarship and progressive theological thought. It has kept abreast of the times and has presented articles and editorials on the weighty problems of church and state, which occupied the minds of contemporary scholars in Europe and in America.

If in a measure its rich contents will be more serviceable to the men who are interested in the subjects which have received treatment, and will increase the influence of the writers who have given the best productions of their pen to its pages, then the painstaking labor required for the preparation of so complete an index will not have been in vain but will hereafter be regarded as one of the most invaluable contributions to this periodical.

G. W. R.

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VOLUME XV.

JANUARY, 1911

PUBLISHED BY
THE REFORMED CHURCH PUBLICATION BOARD,
AT LANCASTER, PA.

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR TO BE PAID IN ADVANCE

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